

**Exclusive International Poll**

# **WHY THE WORLD LOVES CANADA**

**...more than the Americans, and more than just about everyone else. P.34**

**THE OSCAR CURSE**

P.58



# MACLEAN'S

**CANADA'S  
MAGAZINE  
OF THE  
YEAR**

NOV.  
20th  
2000

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**The Liberal front-runner  
has great plans for us,  
but we wouldn't be the  
first to disappoint him P.24**

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**CANADA'S HOT  
NEW WRITER/  
PHYSICIAN**  
P.22

Source: *ibid.*  
 1. *ibid.* 2001, p. 100.



A silver BMW X3 SUV is shown from a front-three-quarter view, driving on a road. The car features the classic BMW kidney grille, dual round headlights, and alloy wheels. The background is a blurred natural setting, suggesting motion.

the hood, to enjoy the utility of an image 1,656 low-impedance. One made easily accessible with a unique split rear window. Speaking of panoramic views, Mercedes-Benz and Daimler, the new BMW 5 is available with hands-free Comfort Access, so you need only approach the vehicle with your keys anywhere in proximity, and all the doors will lock automatically. Thereby making this a truly accessible in all respects.

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## THIS WEEK

### Column

#### 34 CAPITAL DARY

Michael (Baghail) on Lorne Michaels' coasts in Parliament, a Backdoor party at Jason Kenney's loft, and the latest in GAG chic

#### 36 PAUL WELLS

Stephen Harper and Jim Flaherty make a play for a mega-surplus budget. Could that be part of the lead-up to an election call?

#### 38 BARBARA AMIEL

James A. Baker, the Bush family lawyer, is back this time to sort out the mess in the Middle East with the Iraq Study Committee

### National

#### 34 COVER STORY

#### CZAR IGNATIEFF

For three decades he dodged his political destiny, pursuing an international career as public intellectual. Now Michael Ignatieff has returned, but will Canada live up to his lofty expectations?

#### 34 THEY REALLY LIKE US!

A new poll shows that Canada is more popular than the U.S. — and just about everywhere else

#### 38 GOING GODLESS

Religion is on the decline, especially in Christian nations. Over 14 years, Canadians became 20 per cent less pious

#### 38 POPULARITY CONTEST

How does the world rate its leaders? George W. Bush placed third as the least-admired

#### 36 THE DANGER BELOW

Most countries agree: the U.S. poses the greatest threat to global security

# MACLEAN'S

VOLUME 75 NUMBER 46, NOVEMBER 26, 2006 • \$5 (CNDP 180)

### 6 From the Editors: G Mail Bag

#### 12 Seven Days

22 Interview Vincent Lam talks to Kirt Fillion

**NOVEMBER 20-27, 2006**



P.42

### THE BACK PAGES

#### 56 Film

The awful cost of being Oscar's Best Actress may be your husband: *Casino Royale* is the most violent, violent Bond movie ever

#### 64 Style

Politicians' books — a good little read you need

#### 67 TV

Why good shows with low ratings can't really become hits

#### 68 Banter

Just did and dump—the new frontier of breaking up

#### 70 Help

Welcome to the Harvard school of toilet training

#### 72 Fresh

The Forest wedding, coming to you live on pay-per-view

#### 75 Recommended List

The Decembrists, North Korea's cartoons, and a fab new bee

#### 76 The End

Canadian Soldiers: April 19 2002–Oct 14 2006

### National

58 THE LOVE DOWN UNDER  
Meanwhile, Australia renks as Canadians' No 2 place to live, and the feeling's mutual

### World

#### 42 BACK IN LEBANON

Many diaspora Lebanese have returned to their homeland. Has our passport become one of convenience?

#### 44 WHYER'S AL-JAZEERA?

The Arabic network plays the brand of its English news channel, and questions of who will air it and whether it can stay true to its formula

#### 46 A NEW HOUSE

With the Democrats in power, how will the upcoming congressional shuffle play out for Canada?

### Business

#### 48 LOVING TRUST

Despite the hue and cry, Bay Street and seniors will benefit from the Conservatives' taxing-income trusts

#### 50 YOUTUBE'S DEMISE

Between copyright lawsuits and slowing traffic, Google's YouTube coop may actually be a bust

### Environment

#### 52 ENVIRO ENERGY NO. 1

Canada claims to be "green," but we're the world's worst energy hog: even compared to the smoggy U.S.A.

### History

#### 56 SCHOOL OF SLAVERY

Brown University was built on a peculiar U.S. legacy: freedom except for blacks

### International

#### 58 A TRIP TO TORA BORA

An Afghan plan to transform Osama's caves into a vacation destination, a Dawson College victim launches an anti-gun crusade, and Gomer the Gopher stamps the Stamp

### MACLEAN'S.ca

Starting this week, Maclean's.ca brings you more original content—helping you stay on top of the biggest national stories, with a special focus this month on the Liberal leadership race

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# 'The future may or may not belong to Muslims, but it sure doesn't belong to Maclean's'



## 'TOO FEW' STEYN

THERE'S NOTHING so exciting in the publishing world as a good scrap over freedom of expression. And so perhaps we shouldn't have been surprised by Mark Steyn's article that suggested *Indigo* was "boycotting" his book's "Anybody out there seen any book?" (Book, Nov. 6). The fact is that his book was ordered, and simply sold out. It is true that *Indigo* had ordered too few copies of it, but the customer who returned the book, we merely placed a reorder for several thousand more books. And it's not like we were the only ones. When we called Mr. Steyn's US publishers, they told us they couldn't fulfill our order because they, too, had underestimated the demand. As of this moment, we, as well as most major bookstores in Canada, are still awaiting new copies, which we are told will arrive in mid-November. A simple mistake may not be as sexy as the whiff of scandal, and we admire Mr. Steyn's abilities both as an author and a promoter. But we do want to be clear on what happened on our end. We wish Mr. Steyn best of luck with *America Alone*, which will soon be available in *Indigo* as shelf-stable members.

*Joel Selove, Chief Merchant,  
Indigo Books & Music Inc., Toronto*

## MORE NEWS CONTROVERSY

CLIMATE'S STORY: Three weeks after Maclean's published an excerpt of Mark Steyn's new book, *America Alone*, The Council on American-Soviet Relations (CARUS) in Washington, and its affiliate in Ottawa, posted messages on their website accusing us of "Islamophobic" content they called "offensive and offensive." They described "all people of conscience" to "complain to the magazine writing free-to-called talking points." Among them—"Maclean's as the past was an authoritative and respectable voice for Canadians" and "It would be appreciated if such provocative articles are not given space." Finally, "If Maclean's continues to publish such articles, I will consider not renewing my subscription." Some 10 such letters arrived, many signed. The same touched off a flood of letters, both critical and laudatory, from around the world. A sampling of letters:

I WAS DEEPLY disappointed with the provocative and inflammatory excerpt. Articles like this promote fear-mongering and division. Maclean's should be more diligent in

ensuring responsible journalism by printing articles that provoke constructive and meaningful dialogue, rather than base and further vilification of an entire community. Maclean's should know that Muslims are a part of its reading audience and they are part of the society that makes up Canada. Alienating them is not only unhelpful to the Muslim community and Canadian society at large, but it may also make Maclean's one of the top five of choice for many.

*S. F. Hossain, Montreal*



IT WOULD BE appreciated if such provocative articles are not given space. Maclean's as the past was an authoritative and respectable voice for Canadians" and "It would be appreciated if such provocative articles are not given space." Finally, "If Maclean's continues to publish such articles, I will consider not renewing my subscription."

*Abdul Gaffar Sheikh, Toronto*

THE ARTICLE by Mark Steyn is typical of your magazine's weak tendency to dispense shallow journalism as objective editorial. It is, at its core, a racist, inflammatory, and of fensive article. As for demographics, well, since I don't want to do this point yet, I can assure you that we will bring a campaign to get as many people as we can to read their Maclean's subscription. You see, the future may or may not belong to Islam, but it sure doesn't belong to Maclean's.

*Majed Kamil, Ottawa*

THE EXCERPT from Steyn's book was disgusting, racist and highly offensive. He is a blatantly Islamophobic. His writings of Muslims as if they are all evil and a menace to society, and question the validity of their citizenship in Western countries, painting them as second-class citizens, though they have been living peacefully in their countries and contributed to their economies. His words are not to build across cultural bridges and understanding between Muslim and non-Muslims, as if trying to tie them together peacefully is a waste of time. Canadians need to know Maclean's as a respectable and vital source of journalism. It is now becoming doubtful.

*Nayana Khan, Cambridge, Ont.*

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*Kashif Ahmed, Regina*

I WAS STUNNED and appalled by the content. The writer was blatantly describing Muslims as a bunch of almost without a human skin was to replace others and take over most of the world. The author used every way to offend the readers and insult their intelligence. I am so sorry that I will seriously reconsider my subscription to Maclean's if such fear-mongering articles are published again.

*Abdullah and Mayra Cohen, Adelaide, Ont.*

THE ARTICLE is inflammatory and offensive. It does little to build bridges, it simply divides people. It would be appreciated if such provocative articles are not given space, and that Maclean's maintain a balanced editorial policy. Maclean's in the past was an authoritative and respectable voice for Canadians, however, today's Maclean's is clearly becoming a source from the modern. If Maclean's magazine continues to publish such articles, I will consider not renewing my subscription.

*Akshay Mehta, Mississauga, Ont.*

CAIR IS ATTEMPTING to stifle criticism by labelling the excerpt Islamophobic. Free speech, which means the freedom to express an opinion, and to not merely approve but disapprove, is a basic tenet and requirement of free societies. This is a freedom for which

our democracies have fought hard and long. It is a freedom which underpins not merely our desire to express ourselves but freedom is the basic ground upon which our capacity for knowledge rests. No belief system, religion or other, should remove its adherents from questions and analysis. For CAIR to insist that any misrepresentation and any criticism of Islam is not permissible is itself a denial of this basic axiom of the democratic institution. One could indeed turn their misapprehension around, and claim that the CAIR agenda is a democracy phobia.

*Edwina Taberly, Toronto*

AS A FRACTURING Muslim, I found Steyn's excerpt to be authoritative, thought-provoking and focused on the important issue of demographics that will have a significant impact on our way of life. He should not have to make any apology about his desire to preserve his voice and confidence as a free-flying due to low birth rate. His examples about the potential crisis in Japan and Europe are more than real, and his point that the demographic changes in Europe may force Muslim immigrants over native Europeans does not make his column inflammatory or Islamophobic.

*Anur Sasidharan, Ottawa*

STEYN IS THE best writer on the planet and we need to hear him.

*Joe Landerbach, Seattle, B.C.*

HOW ARE PEOPLE going to know and understand any issue if information about it is suppressed or censored by any one of the groups involved? Is Canada not still a free country where ideas may be freely presented? Are the suspicions of some individuals so fragile and shallow that any scrutiny of their beliefs and actions causes them to lash out?

*Tom McCarty, Winnipeg*

BLACK POC: naming the source from Steyn's book. It contains some information that the truth that we need to pay attention to.

*Anees Oakley, Richmond, Australia*

CAIR HAS PRINTED this article as a "deliberate, harmful, and provocative" act. Two of those three characteristics are correct. I believe the content of that article was indeed deliberate, and I am sure it will provide those who wish to deny the existence of Islam, racism and otherwise, in the West, but just because truth is provocative doesn't mean it should not be as in print. To point Steyn's words as harmful, though, is simply a distraction for political gain.

*Mattie R. Green, Hamilton*

## MACLEAN'S

<b>Advertising Executive</b> Cathy M. Maclean cathy.m@maclean.ca 416-924-1111	<b>Communications Director</b> Cathy M. Maclean cathy.m@maclean.ca 416-924-1111
<b>Advertising Manager</b> Cathy M. Maclean cathy.m@maclean.ca 416-924-1111	<b>Communications Manager</b> Cathy M. Maclean cathy.m@maclean.ca 416-924-1111
<b>Advertising Assistant</b> Cathy M. Maclean cathy.m@maclean.ca 416-924-1111	<b>Communications Assistant</b> Cathy M. Maclean cathy.m@maclean.ca 416-924-1111
<b>Advertising Coordinator</b> Cathy M. Maclean cathy.m@maclean.ca 416-924-1111	<b>Communications Coordinator</b> Cathy M. Maclean cathy.m@maclean.ca 416-924-1111
<b>Advertising Representative</b> Cathy M. Maclean cathy.m@maclean.ca 416-924-1111	<b>Communications Representative</b> Cathy M. Maclean cathy.m@maclean.ca 416-924-1111
<b>Advertising Sales</b> Cathy M. Maclean cathy.m@maclean.ca 416-924-1111	<b>Communications Sales</b> Cathy M. Maclean cathy.m@maclean.ca 416-924-1111
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<b>Advertising Distribution</b> Cathy M. Maclean cathy.m@maclean.ca 416-924-1111	<b>Communications Distribution</b> Cathy M. Maclean cathy.m@maclean.ca 416-924-1111
<b>Advertising Circulation</b> Cathy M. Maclean cathy.m@maclean.ca 416-924-1111	<b>Communications Circulation</b> Cathy M. Maclean cathy.m@maclean.ca 416-924-1111
<b>Advertising Finance</b> Cathy M. Maclean cathy.m@maclean.ca 416-924-1111	<b>Communications Finance</b> Cathy M. Maclean cathy.m@maclean.ca 416-924-1111
<b>Advertising Legal</b> Cathy M. Maclean cathy.m@maclean.ca 416-924-1111	<b>Communications Legal</b> Cathy M. Maclean cathy.m@maclean.ca 416-924-1111
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MAIL BAG

'It is the transparency in Barbara Amiel's Marie Antoinette piece that has me pinching myself'



ON IWO JIMA in 1945, the U.S. suffered 28,000 casualties. Just under 7,000 died

GRATITUDE publishing Steep's essays. It is one of my favourite authors. Don't retract or apologize. Speak the truth. The public needs to know.

Candy Gossick, *Manassas, South Africa*

I BELIEVE that Barbara Amiel is also a woman in the public eye who has handled herself with grace and poise in the face of a difficult situation. Her writing, or more precisely her craft, has not suffered at all. It is still as thought-provoking and weighty as ever. *John Galt, Toronto*

#### CASUALTIES OF WAR

IN HIS STORY about Paul Haggis and *Flags of Our Fathers*, Brian D. Johnson is in error when he states that 26,000 Americans died on the island of Iwo Jima in 1945 ("So guys, let's cover up the Oscars," Film, Oct. 16). The U.S. suffered 28,000 casualties, but of that total, just under 7,000 died, a heavy toll nonetheless for an intensely brutal battle. *Galina Perina, Assistant Professor of American History, University of Ottawa, Ottawa*

#### HEY BIG SPENDER

MORE THAN 50 YEARS, I can imagine myself chomping back on Barbara Amiel's article "Misunderstood: Marie Antoinette." Society, Nov. 6) and wondering if I read it, or only dreamt I read it. More than anything else, it's the transparency that has me pinching myself. It's so real Amiel didn't approach this piece with objectivity and bias; it's right before my eyes and with all the evidence she addresses. Her continued infatuation with the frivolous and her Master the press stance are timeless.

Mary Hagg, *Ottawa*

#### IN PASSING

Jackie Parker, 75, versatile Edmonton Eskimo star who played offense as well as defence, serving as running back, pass receiver and quarterback. He helped bring three Grey Cups to the Alberta capital. Although an almost outsize figure among fans, the American-born Parker was surprisingly modest. He was also visible, thanks to narrow limbs that earned him the nickname "Spigburt Legs." He died of throat cancer.

Felena Beek, 61, durable former Turkish prime minister whose four governments presided over some of the most eventful periods in Turkey's history, including the assassination of Cypriote 1974 (this has resulted in three decades of ethnic partition on the island). A celebrated star who studied literature, Beek lived modestly, patronized secular democracy and tilted the country toward the West, pursuing membership in the European Union. ■

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# MITCHEL RAPHAEL ON THE GG'S NEEDLES AND A COUPLE OF MPS FROM THE TOWN OF BEDROCK

## LORNE MICHAELS DISCOVERS HE HAS AN MP COUSIN

Governor General Michaëlle Jean has been busy getting a lot of media lately. She's got yellow fever, typhoid and other diseases as part of her preparations for an upcoming five-country state visit to Africa. Last week, however, was a bit of a blue week for the GG. For Halloween, she wore a blue glitter wig with a Venetian mask. Then she sported an open-back "wine and peach" coloured dress by Ottawa's Jefferson Sukhoo design duo for the 11th annual Governor General's Performing Arts Awards gala at the National Arts Centre. Jean Clarkson attended the event with her wife, Alice Chastien, who one of the nighted her husband from politics so they could attend more arts events. GG award recipients included dancer/ballet



MPS JASON KENNEY (left), Robert LaPlante, James Rajotte (right)

she told me," said Michaels at a reception held by the Speaker, Peter Milliken, two days before the gala. At the Speaker's reception, BCC and Bell Canada executive Landon Hunter said he regretted having to miss sitting beside another

## JASON KENNEY'S PARTY LOFT

On Halloween, the MP was on shuffle in Jason Kenney, parliamentary secretary to the Prime Minister, held one of the first Conservative parties since the Tories took power in January. Education MP James Rajotte came dressed in Barney Rubble; Kenney was Ford Fierstone, with a few grilled hair spikes on the crown of his head to match the star from Bedrock. If politics doesn't work out, Kenney would definitely get a job at Canada's Wonderland. Most of the revelers had never been to Kenney's East Block office before, and a lot of them couldn't stop talking about the fact that it had exposed bricks and beams, making it feel like a hip downtown urban loft. On one wall was a copy of the famous photo of "The Unknown Rebel," the man who stood in front of tanks on their way to Tiananmen Square in 1989. A while back it was suggested to Kenney that he ought want to make the photo down which he met with the Chinese ambassador. Kenney refused.

## BILL GRAHAM BUYS BOW NOT TO BOOK

Media types and politicians packed Ottawa's Irish pub O'Neary McGee's

to hear Michael's columnar Paul Wells's book *Right Side Up: The Fall of Paul Martin and the Rise of Stephen Harper's New Conservative*. Interview Liberal Leader Bill Graham noted: "I only have a month left but I want to read this so I don't make the same mistake." A few days later, there was the Ottawa launch of Bob Rae's new book, *Canada in the Balance*, at the Nicholas House bookshop on Sussex Drive. Those appeared to be more media there than book buyers. At the end of the Rae launch, a mysterious group of young people in a "photo scavenger hunt" snatched the store. Their list of required items included a photo of a politician (10 points, but double that for Health Minister Tony Clement).



BILL GRAHAM and Paul Wells

A per was crapped with fire, and then they all lived and our web-out a single book in hand. Still, first day sales of *Canada in the Balance* were not bad, according to staff. What is selling briskly at Nicholas House, though, is Eddie Goldstein's *The Way It Works: Inside Ottawa*, and Adrienne Clarkson's memoir *Heart Matters*. Staff noted they are still trying to sell their one copy of Don Martin's book *Inside: The Political and Private Life of Belinda Stronach*. ■

ON THE WEB: For more Ottawa outtakes or to contact Mitchell Raphael, visit [www.mitchelldiary.com/](http://www.mitchelldiary.com/) or [mitchelldiary@gmail.com](mailto:mitchelldiary@gmail.com)

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MICHAËLLE JEAN (left and inset), Alice and Jean Chastien at the GG's gala, Lorne Michaels with second cousin MP Susan Kadi

Jeannette Sukhoo, for her work helping dancers transition to post-performance life, and Lorne Michaels, the executive producer and creator of *Stanley Night Live* and, at times out, second cousin of Liberal MP Susan Kadi (Thornhill). "I had an idea about

GG award money, singer Robbie Robertson, as much that day—something about a little more to see in retirement. At the Sunday night gala, co-host Rick Mercer reminded people to turn their cell phones on once Bell was the presenting sponsor.

# So, is everyone ready for a federal election?



PAUL WELLS

Two short columns for the price of a long one. Is this a budget in your fiscal room, or are you just happy to budget?

Am I the only person to not a mean-bright counter-factual when Finance Minister Jim Flaherty's two most audacious craves the post? Probably, but soon you'll see it too.

The most recent of the two moves, of course, was the decision to raise income taxes at the general tax rate for corporations. It broke a simple, clear "pay election promise, many times repeated by Stephen Harper. It wiped out a big chunk of many Canadians' savings overnight. It's hardly conservative the bolder small-government play would have been to level the playing field by cutting the general corporate rate down to the income tax rate, not to raise the tax rate. But it seemed that the government, having inflated boom times, will keep taking in tax dollars in unprecedented volume. Which brings us to Flaherty's other bold move.

That was the decision to put all of the \$1-billion budget surplus toward repayment of the accumulated debt. You're forgiven if you missed it. What a government doesn't do rarely makes headlines for more than a day or so. The \$1 billion or so in spending cuts (that accompanied the surplus announcement) put a lot more attention and controversy.

Here, the road not travelled is Jean Chrétien's. He loved to live off an anticipated surplus and set up a one-time program or transfer to the provinces for some worthy goal. But that "one-time" spending never turned out to be one time. It reliably raised expectations, and therefore the spending floor, for the next year's budget cycle.

Now consider the two moves together. Like many keeps interest rates high. Raising the temptations posed by big surpluses kept spending (relatively) low. Here's the move:

bring little else than first-of-their-kind add up to a jumbo surplus in the next budget.

What can you do with that surplus? Many things: cut the GST and other taxes, "value" the "fiscal rebates" by increasing access to the provinces, then buying back coal-bility in Quebec, search transfer payments for post-secondary education. Basically by the foundation for a Conservative re-election campaign.

Which means, if I'm a Liberal or a New Democrat, my plan to bring Harper down before he gets a chance to deliver that budget.

Which means, if I'm Harper, my job is to make sure the Conservative has no confidence vote before the budget.

Which means, if I'm the opposition...



## The opposition has to pull the plug before the Tories table their re-election budget

**Question Period: Meet Harper!**

How ever long we last until an election, and indefinitely afterwards, we are still left with the two-week coronation as the daily Question Period in the House of Commons. The Prime Minister takes all the hard questions (if he's Stephen Harper) or less one of his ministers take all the hard questions (if he's Paul Martin). The opposition—any opposition—shamelessly derails the scandal of the day, ignoring all other business of government. Noise counts more than light. Clowns are rewarded. The first half of every day is devoted to prying for the going show.

Let's fix it. Three suggestions, in ascending order of if it never happens:

• **Run up the short clock.** Every question and answer in Question Period is timed by a 35-second clock. *Liberal*. The clock of the House has to do there starting at a 35-second

countdown on the screen of a personal computer, anyone who runs past 35 seconds is cut off by the Speaker. *Small*, guaranteed superiority.

But the 35-second clock is a product of the 1997 election, which set the government against four opposition parties. Since 2004, there've been only two opposition parties. So the clock should give every participant 45 seconds. A little less clown show, a little more conversation. Unless your MP's like the clown show...

• **Let the PM out of the House.** In Britain, the Prime Minister only has to answer questions once a week. Why cope that? Why let Harper off the hook? Precisely because it would let him off the hook—and put other ministers on it. A press minister who finds only

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**ON THE WEB:** For more Paul Wells, visit his blog at [www.mackinnon.ca/observed](http://www.mackinnon.ca/observed)





## 2 AFGHAN HEADLESS HORSEMEN

In *buzkashi*, the Afghan national sport, two teams on horseback compete to throw a beheaded 30-kg goat far into a scoring circle.

- 1 Competitors use many violent tactics, including the use of a larder who to fend off the opposing team and try to steal the process.
- 2 Some matches last for several days, so regular naps are required.
- 3 Matches are often held to celebrate the birth of a son or a wedding.
- 4 The games—played for tiny sums to prize money—attract thousands.
- 5 Teams earn points by dropping the carcass in the "circle of justice."
- 6 Since it takes years to become true riders—the *chapan-dar*—stars of the sport are usually in their forties.
- 7 An Afghan horseman takes a breather during a long match in Kabul.





## 'No matter how well you've performed, you just have to move on to the next patient. Or the next book.'

VINCENT LAM, DOCTOR AND GILLER WINNER, TALKS TO KATE FILLION ABOUT PANDEMICS, CONTRACEPTIVES, AND HIS SURPRISE VICTORY

**Q** There were three flu pandemic in the 20th century, the most severe being the one in 1918-19 that killed between 40 million and 100 million people. In *The Flu Pandemic and You: A Canadian Guide, you and your co-author, Dr. Colin Lee, write that another pandemic is inevitable, so just don't know exactly when it will occur. What's the difference between regular old seasonal flu and a pandemic?*

**A:** Every year, several strains of influenza circulate and cause a relatively low, predictable rise of illness, and they're typically related to strains that have circulated in human beings in the recent past. Most people have had some previous exposure, either to those strains, then to similar ones. Pandemics occur when strains of influenza that previously circulated generally in animals, mostly in birds, manage to cross into humans and give the ability to circulate easily. Because most people in the world have not had any previous exposure to strains like it, more people are more prone to be severely affected.

**Q:** Last year, everyone was clamouring for Tamiflu, but this year the level of hysteria about bird flu has declined. Is that because there's less risk?

**A:** Both the panicked type of fear or awe surrounding the topic last year, and the comparative neglect and lack of interest this year, are unjustified. A year ago, people were really going off half-cocked, misinterpreting the

existence of legitimate scientific and health concerns as likelihood of that phenomenon actually happening, not much. It's true that the issues surrounding H5N1, the strain of avian influenza people are most concerned about, were evolving last year, but it's also true that they still exist right now.

**Q:** Should the average, healthy person get a flu shot?

**A:** Yes. One, because it reduces their likelihood of missing work; influenza isn't like a cold, it involves muscle aches and being incredibly tired and staying in bed for days. Two, to reduce the chances of transmitting the virus to someone more vulnerable. The elderly relatives or very young children. People with ongoing illnesses like heart or lung disease, and people who are frail or elderly, suffer more serious consequences from influenza and are more likely to experience complications and also to die, so it's quite plain to see that for them, getting a flu shot is a good idea. What's really interesting is that people can be very fascinated by the prospect of a pandemic, which is unusual and depressing but also unlikely, and yet people cannot appreciate the risk that seasonal influenza causes every year.

**Q:** Will this year's flu shot provide any protection in the case of an H5N1 pandemic?

**A:** It's very unlikely, and the safe assumption is that it would not. But one of the key stumbling blocks once a pandemic comes will be not only the creation of a vaccine, but the mass production and distribution of it,

which requires a complicated infrastructure. Right now, only a tiny fraction of people in the world get influenza vaccinations—so the network is vastly insufficient to meet the potential demand during a pandemic. By getting a vaccine now, part of what you're doing is building a commercial incentive that will make it easier for companies to mass produce and distribute a vaccine during a pandemic should the need arise.

**Q:** But some Canadians don't even believe in vaccinating their kids against measles. How do you convince them to get the flu shot?

**A:** One thing SARS taught us, and one thing anyone will realize if they visit a country that doesn't have a good comprehensive vaccination program, is that infectious disease is very real. Most people have never been witness to the effects of rubella, for example, and consequently don't feel it's a real phenomenon. But it is, and it causes very serious health problems. I do think it's worth noting that flu shots are universally available, free of charge. That's an area where costs are constrained. If the government is offering something for free, they must have a good reason for it.

**Q:** What can individuals families do to prepare for a flu pandemic?

**A:** They should have some kind of plan for emergencies in general, be they fire storms or hurricanes, and the preparations are really the same as those for a pandemic. Canadian families should think about having a stockpile of food—we suggest a month's worth. A



## THE TRAINING FOR A NUCLEAR OPERATOR IS TOUGH SLOGGING

It takes seven years and costs about a million dollars to train a nuclear reactor operator at a shift supervisor. No one at OPG gets to work at these jobs without taking the courses and the standards are incredibly high. I never thought I'd have to go back to school to go to work. But I did. They say only the best meet the rigorous standards set by the Canadian Nuclear Safety Commission. It's given us a new respect for all the people I work with every day. Kathleen Carow, Shift Supervisor in Training, Nuclear Operations Training, J.

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generations ago, it wouldn't have been unusual at all to have two months of food in the larder, if you could afford it. But now we have a job in time delivery modernity that comes on being able to get things at the last minute. If there's a disruption in supply chains, and the next pandemic could well cause significant social and economic disruption, it would be a good idea to have some food in the house.

**Q: Your plot in the book is well-defined, right down to the level of suggesting people keep a large supply of coronavirus handy.**

**A:** We're all about detail! Given everything that might be going on during a pandemic, you might want to think about whether that's the ideal time to procreate.

**Q: How will medical resources be retained in a pandemic?**

**A:** There will be very tough medical decisions as well as ethical decisions. *Animals* such as *Tierflora* pose a particular problem. Most of the evidence points to the conclusion that if they're useful at all, they may be more useful in terms of greenhouse gas treatment. If you have a limited supply in a public system, does it make more sense to provide preventative treatment for essential services workers—health care workers, police, electrical and utility system workers—or to use animals to treat livestock?

**Q: You don't enter laying in a personal stockpile.**

**A:** Absolutely not. For one thing, it's expensive.

**Q: And if it turns out to work best as a preventative, would need a lot of it, right?**

**A:** Five would need enough to last until you can reasonably expect a vaccine to be developed, which is to say, a minimum of eight to 10 months.

**Q: How would a flu pandemic stack up against SARS?**

**A:** SARS was a logistical nightmare, and there is for a long as a system. But it actually affected relatively few people in terms of the final number of illnesses and deaths. An influenza pandemic would affect a much larger percentage of the population. One of the big differences is that with influenza, in the day before a person has any symptoms at all, they may already be highly infectious. With SARS, people were shedding the most virus and were most infectious about 10 days into the illness, when they were already quite ill. That's one reason it could be more easily contained, you could see that they were sick. There are some things which people expect in a pandemic, and in a scary way, almost business as usual, the infected quarantines and signs nailed on the front door telling

people not to go in or out. The reality is that we probably won't see those, because the success rate of enforced, individually directed quarantine and isolation in the past pandemics simply has not been better. Our influenza is too infectious, and people shut you before they know they're sick. Once an infection is in the general community, it's almost impossible to completely stop its progress. What will likely be possible is to slow down and limit its progression by asking people to stay home, voluntarily.

**Q: How do you shut the virus, exactly?**

**A:** It comes from your mucous membranes, typically your nose, or mouth or perhaps from rubbing your eyes. As mucous or perhaps, and virus-containing, droplets get out and land on another person, or on a object like a table or an elevator button. It only needs about a minute, but the droplet, depending on temperature and humidity, could survive a maximum of about 48 hours. A lot of people can touch an elevator button in the meantime, but the thing to understand is that you don't get influenza from touching the button—you get it from touching the button, then touching one of your mucous membranes, scratching your nose or rubbing your eyes. This is why handwashing is so important, you can prevent that indirect transmission.

**Q: You published two books this year, *Animal Hoofbeats & Miscellaneous Cures*, which was the *Gutter Press*, and you're currently finishing a novel. You're a practicing emergency physician. And you have a two-year-old. Do you have any hobbies?**

**A:** The short answer is no.

**Q: In your fiction, you're very interested in microbiology. But emergency medicine seems kind of like a one-night stand.**

**A:** Well, honestly, because we're there at night. I love being thrust into a new situation 30 times a day. There's something about and kind of old about emergency medicine that makes it both tiring and, finally, kind of addictive. I normally do read the ongoing sense of follow up and knowing what happens with patients. But it's okay. I have a vivid imagination.

**Q: How your medical training helped you as a writer, beyond providing subject matter?**

**A:** Medicine has taught me that it really doesn't matter how well you've performed. Someone will always be dissatisfied or unhappy, either for a reason you couldn't do much about, or for a reason that's simply untrue. And you just have to move on to the next patient. Or the next book.

**Q: What did you think of the other books on the *Gutter* shelf?**

**A:** I had a moment reading each of the books when I thought each one should win.

**Q: Come on. That's your real motivation. As *No, Trisistris*, Anyway, I didn't think I would win. First collections of short stories don't win the *Gutter*. I've really been struck by lightning in terms of good fortune.**

**Q: Did your pandemic scenario give you a view, or did they want you to become a doctor?**

**A:** My parents very actively encouraged me to be a writer—after I became a doctor. I came from an immigrant family but I was nerdy, obedient to stereotypes, directed this way or that way. I was a nerd, mad. I don't remember being advised that first I should work on some way of putting food on the table, then I could do what I wanted. Also at 14 or 15, I was a short story competition, and the prize was attending a writing course. The teacher was [Brian] Jones [John Capshaw], and much to my amazement, at the end of the course, she sat me down and said, "You know, you have talent, and you could prob-



**'During a pandemic, you might want to think whether that's the ideal time to procreate'**

ably do this, but I strongly encourage you to go out and get a job."

**Q: Why do you think she said that?**

**A:** I don't know, maybe she was having a tough year. It just made me think more about writing, though.

**Q: Does being a writer help your doctoring?**

**A:** Absolutely not, because being a writer makes me faster for worry. And if you can do that, you can get the diagnosis about 95 per cent of the time. But I'm probably more grateful as a writer: having a diagnosis just requires a lot of work. ■

PHOTOGRAPH BY MICHAEL S. BROWN

PHOTOGRAPH BY MICHAEL S. BROWN

20



weight." He was 21 and being courted by the Liberal party for a political career that seemed inevitable. Development in public life was given in his family. His father, George Ignatieff, was born into Russian aristocracy four years before its violent extinction. The many of guards enabled his family to escape emigration and the country in 1918. They would settle in Quebec a decade later. On the campaign trail, Michael Ignatieff presents his father's early days of fear and hardship, a Rhodes scholarship, rise within the Department of Internal Affairs as an ambassador and later as celebrated diplomat—as a template for Canadian immigrant success and recompense. His mother, Alison Grant, hailed from a family that shaped the country's educational firmament and national identity (George Mackenzie Grant, the scholar and former principal of Queen's University, was his great-grandfather). His grandfather William Grant was a principal at Upper Canada College. George Grant, author of *Lament for a Nation*, was an uncle. Vincent Massey was a great uncle.

Ignatieff's alpha personality was conspicuous at Upper Canada College, that harsh incubator of the country's future. He edited the yearbook, captured the soccer and debating teams, and was voted captain. No one questioned his boss that he would one day be prime minister. "A conviction," is how a former classmate remembers him today. At the University of Toronto, his studies have been engaged in student activities and become close friends and roommates with Bill Rae, who, in the two degrees of separation of Canadian political life, is now his primary rival. He joined the Liberal party in 1965, campaigning for Lester Pearson, a family friend. In the first indication of his Zelig-like facility to appear at history's front lines, he was on the convention floor as a youth delegate for Pierre Elliott Trudeau in 1968.

At the national youth organizer in the ensuing federal election, Ignatieff witnessed Trudeau's rise to the nation's highest office.

"I had this incredible experience on his plane, and then being at Harrington Lake the night after his victory. It was unforgettable," Ignatieff says. "I was clearly one of those back-eyed, ambitious teenagers who saw himself as politics very early." Yet he viewed off the majesty. "I said, 'I don't know anything.' I needed to get some weight," he says. He has used this conceit before to explain his leaviness, his elegance, nothing symmetrical about. What he does say is that for a clever, restless young man who grew up as a devoted emissary overseas in the liberal internationalist, it would have been odd that he stayed. He needed distance from the shadow of familial accomplishments, particu-



## IN THE FIRST INDICATION OF HIS ZELIG-LIKE FACILITY TO APPEAR AT HISTORY'S FRONT LINES, HE WAS ON THE CONVENTION FLOOR AS A YOUTH DELEGATE FOR TRUDEAU

larly his father's Ottawa prominence, he says. "It was a kind of force field you had to break from. Unfortunately, it has taken a little longer than I expected," he says with an ironic laugh.

Indeed, thirty-one years minus a two-year return to teach—the length of Michael Ignatieff's odyssey back to Canada. His sweep would make a panoramic documentary of the sort he used to stir in for the BCO—the cluster of august universities, the tender fishbowl of London's Grosvenor Club, architect dean with the great liberal philosopher Immanuel Kant, front-line exposure to war-

to nearby medium-security prisons to interview inmates, his first exposure to those society can mercilessly fail, "the bottom of the heap," who have decided them. The shock formed the genesis of his first book, *A Just Measure of Pain*, published in 1978, early indication of his ability to repackaging for a secondary audience.

He was passed over for an assistant professorship at Harvard for reasons later attributed to reverse snobbery, according to a professor who claimed a faculty member resented Ignatieff, believing that because of his aristocratic lineage and good looks "his accomplishments were less than they appeared." Years later, Ignatieff would dismiss the place as "the court of the Manchu emperor."

He accepted a two-year appointment to teach Canadian history at the University of British Columbia, arriving in Vancouver in the fall of 1976 with his new bride, Susan Barron-Coughlin, an up-and-coming British writer. The couple lived in a whitewashed other meeting in London that summer. His friend UBC confidant, the curriculum director and professor. In 1978, Ignatieff took a six-year research fellowship in the history of political economy at King's College, Cambridge. Striving the rigid packing order of the university town, he commuted from London where he and Barron-Coughlin lived in a walk-up flat.

He left the cloister of Cambridge in 1984 to write. In short order, he made a name for himself as an all-purpose intellectual ready to take controversial stances. In 1986, the late long liberal slammed French on the left when he supported the Thatcher government on sharing an atom bomb coal miner's strike in the belief that the workers were being misled by

union leaders. That year, his philosophical treatise *The Moral of Strauss* put him on the public intellectual radar. In it, he identified humanity's wide-spread failure to provide the community "in which our need for belonging can be met." Dedicated "To Susan who teaches me my needs," the slim volume showed Ignatieff's synthesis of intellect and his ability to pop culture current ideas, in this case the challenge for public services of providing care to those in need. It also revealed a knack for stirring aphorisms: "Being human is an accomplishment like playing an instrument," he writes. "It takes practice."

He showed off his range in his ability to cross media—as a columnist, high-profile television interviewer, writer of newspaper,



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concept, and contribution to influential personalities. His output was dizzying. "He is one of the least well-known people I know," says Winick. By the end of the decade, the Michael Ignatieff brand was so fixed in the U.K. he played himself in the 1991 British comedy *Shirley and John*.

Ignatieff's present appeared to be unfolding effortlessly. He became the father of a boy, Theo, in 1984, and a girl, Sophie, in 1987. He had charming, droll celebrity. He and Barbra Streisand lived up a house. "I got yet another of these ghastly London rules of anonymity," he wrote, "who walk around believing they invented fatherhood, children, happy marriages, domesticity." But the present wasn't

his. "Family gossip of the time had Ignatieff's interest in subverting more closely linked to family property; the joke was that Michael had ambitions to become one, says a relation. Ignatieff says he never considered it. "We have these estates and stuff and you'd go back and people would come up to you and say, 'We can make you nice Holiday Inn's, and you'd think, 'But? Me running a Holiday Inn in deepest, darkest Russia? I don't thank you.'"

Toronto lawyer Michael Levine, who has known Ignatieff for decades, speaks of his sense of historical responsibility. He recalls introducing Ignatieff to Charles and Andrea Bronfman. "Only Michael could be so sensitive to the sin of the great-grandfather, and

serenize illness," provided the backdrop for his 1995 novel *Dear Sam*. The lyrical first-person account of a son caring for a mother grappling with neurological breakdown mirrored his own mother's descent into Alzheimer's. In those years, less the death of a parent than the obscuration of self history occasioned by the demise of one's first love, "the silent cartoon of the shadow over my own life." This, so Ignatieff, was still a family. "Memory is the only attitude I have believed in," he writes.

Not all family members shared Ignatieff's admission for the book. Some expressed anger that privacy had been breached, a sentiment voiced about family stories published in *Grazia*. There was distance that the fiction veiled the fact it was not Ignatieff but his younger brother, Andrew, who cared for his mother in Toronto, sacrificing his work in international development to do so.

Andrew Ignatieff has been visible as the just about growing up in the shade of a star

## TORONTO LAWYER MICHAEL LEVINE RECALLS INTRODUCING IGNATIEFF TO CHARLES AND ANDIE BRONFMAN. 'HE BEGAN BY APOLOGIZING FOR HIS CZARIST RUSSIAN PAST.'

big enough for him, his historical self-book. He produced *The Russian House*, a series, mosaic mosaic of his father's family that was auction and a panel of prestigious prices, including a 1987 Governor General's award. Twentieth-century Russia formed the backdrop of his first novel, *Araya*, a weaving tape of the 30-year life of his spurned heroine. The book can be read as a study of Ignatieff's complex, complex relationship with his father. (One main result telling Ignatieff he knew George Ignatieff slightly. "So did I?" Ignatieff responded readily.) Helping with spies and during White Russian officers, the romantic relationship was met with criticism when it was published in 1990. (In its morning, *Pravda* the second it had been terrible "a classic Canadian book.") On his book tour, Ignatieff explained the goal of his Russian heritage to the *Guardian*. "Oh, some of it's freedom. I chose Daddy's side as opposed to Mum's side—everybody chooses the part they identify with—I chose the aristocrat, I chose the aristocrat."

He cut himself grandly within an epic-novels. "These perhaps a little more than most people a sense that any time doesn't begin with birth, that my clock started basically on the Russian Revolution, and by its consequences," he said. "And that my life wasn't and when I do, it's chapter one in some sense and somewhat disconnected." Ignatieff's role, as he knew, was intellectual redemptor. "A lot of my life has been thinking about loss, and coming to terms with that loss, and what you've done when you've lost something is go back to the wreckage and use what you can salvage. And what I think I can salvage is this vision of a modern, democratic Rus-



"MY LIFE WON'T END WHEN I DO. IT'S CHANGING IN SOME CIVIL AND UNEXPECTED DIRECTION."

he began by apologizing for his exact Russian past. "A man who knows Ignatieff will joke, 'There is a quality about Michael that centers in his own history.' Arrogant is another adjective used to describe him. One man who interviewed him as the BBC in the 1990s recalls Ignatieff merely suggesting to him afterwards that he might like to do some research for him. His third-person sense of self could grow. "Someone like me does not exist in America, and that seems to me to be terrible," he said in a 1990 interview, relating to the lack of cultural programming in the U.S. A relative recalls a holiday dinner in Canada. "He turned to the table and said, 'I think you're the nicest audience I've had in a long time.' His wife of the time had to tell him, 'That's hardly not a studio audience.'"

Family history, the "history of our character," he deleted them from out of his family fiction. In *Old Boys: The Powerful Legacy of Upper Canada College*, James Paul Gosselin's 1994 and history of the school, Andrew spoke of his brother's brutal crushing of him when he recovered the creative effect the institution had on their relationship. His public posture toward his brother now a find, if any. Any worded enigma is over, Andrew says. He supports his brother's candidacy, volunteering time even though his own loyalty lies with the NDP. "As I jokingly say to people, 'He is a difficult person to have as a brother but for many of the qualities that will make him extraordinary as a leader.'"

Other relatives are less forgiving. "He was writing his autobiography in everything," says one. "He wasn't mean for other people. There's always a lot being observed

out. His great-grandfather was the richest man in Europe who lost all his money at Monte-Carlo. That wasn't mentioned [in the *Manuscript*]. It also didn't mention that Count Paul Ignatieff ran all the programs in Russia. "Boasting up all of the good to go out there from amongst peasantry"—that's a nicely-mounted description of what his great-grandfather did as a conqueror." The same radical later reading George Ignatieff's 1985 memoir, *The Making of a Peace-monger*, before Michael Ignatieff asked it, noting, "It was for more interesting, though less well-known."

Ramsay present, at the wake of the Cold War's end and the crumbling of the Berlin Wall, formed the stage for the next phase of Ignatieff's grand tour. As old order broke down, the mainstays of the Soviet Union fractured into forces, warring nationalist states. Entire populations were obliterated in roughly seven weeks. In 1991, Ignatieff began work as a BBC documentary on ethnic minorities, *Blood and Belonging*. Several of the regions he chose to visit had personal resonance: the former Yugoslavia where his father had served as Canadian ambassador in the 1970s and his family holidayed at Tito's summer residence; the Ukraine, where he sought out his family's former estate and Quaker, where his family is buried. The experience was transformative. Faced with the barbarism contained in the name of ethnic nationalism, the former cosmopolitan emerged an advocate of nation-building. As he writes in the book sponsored by the series, "a cosmopolitan, post-national spirit will always degenerate, in the end, on the capacity of nation-states to provide security and civility for their citizens."

While he was busy writing global scriptures, Ignatieff's domestic life burst into a hellfire again when his marriage broke down. There was always strain, says a friend. "Both of them were tough, difficult people." His ex-wife, Alexandra Zerkow, the woman he would marry in 1999, when he handled the publicity for *Blood and Belonging*. The book put him Zerkow, who headed programs at the BBC, was known for her debt to such with luminaries. Friends say Zerkow has told Ignatieff in "the power" of being human. Andrew Ignatieff says his second marriage has made his brother more attentive to the effort he has on others. "I don't think Michael used to really understand his own capacity to generate anger and passion and devotion and drive in people," he says.

Ignatieff's journeys through the graveyards of ethnic genocide took him to the front of the emerging discipline of "humanitarian intervention," the advocacy of military action across borders to prevent mass killing

when other measures fail. This too was a post-Cold War development with the reduction of security tensions between major powers, concern over violations of human rights could come to the fore. It also gave new purpose to the American war machine. Somalia, Haiti, Bosnia, Kosovo, East Timor, Sierra Leone—all were interventions, to varying degrees, justified by the alarmingly unmanageable "humanitarian" motive. As such, "human rights" evolved from the political paragon of better writing, Amnesty International to the political application of force to reduce violence. The promoters of liberalism were being driven to include "liberal wars" (Ignatieff) because a social advocate. Again, the personal became the political, and a friend who observed that humanitarianism in the conflict-ridden world was done personally by Ignatieff's father and his life. "His language has paralleled trends of human rights, internationalism, United Nations liberal principles. On the other side, there's an understanding of, even

to," she says. Ignatieff refers to teaching at Carleton as the "biggest moment of my professional life by a country mile. I felt at home because he was there." He speaks with pride of the work his students are doing in the world.

The transition from London to Carleton was more difficult for Zerkow. She was legally not allowed to work, the couple found Boston's cultural life lacking compared to London's. "I was supposed to be able to kill myself," she jokes. They established a new pattern. Ignatieff taught and wrote, she handled everything else.

IGNATIEFF'S diplomat dad George (foreground) in the UN



## HIS OWN HISTORY IS A LIMBIC LINK TO THE PARTY'S GLORY DAYS. HE SPEAKS OF HIS FATHER STANDING ON THE ROOF OF CANADA HOUSE IN LONDON DURING THE BLITZ.

an enthusiasm about the role of force and the military and the importance of putting a line in the sand."

When the Carleton for Human Rights Policy, a newly formed unit within Harvard's John F. Kennedy School of Government, sought its first full-time director, Ignatieff was the ideal fit. Founded in 1999 by vice-mid manager Greg Carr, the center approached human rights from a public policy perspective—integrating human rights and military communities together to study how and the road out of war. Ignatieff arrived in autumn a five-year contract. Students asked him, "The fact he had served as a refugee with his mother and had been shot at was not his respect." People often started the semester misinformed by what they'd heard about his mother, but they would almost inevitably come away finding him calm, authentic and approachable. Says a former student, Jacqueline O'Neill, "Burch herself, who applied to him as a director, spoke of Ignatieff's 'conceptually sharp interpersonal touch.' He tends to make people feel listened to and supported

Sept. 11—and the newly opened "war on terror"—gave the center's work new profile. Ignatieff's position lent authority to his support of the mission of the center. In *The New Yorker*, a cover story in the New York Times Magazine in January 2005, two months before the bombing of Baghdad, "The 21st-century imperative is a new question in the arena of political science," he wrote, "an empirical tale, a global hegemony whose grave crimes are free markets, human rights and democracy, enforced by the most immense military power the world has ever known." Writing in Harper's, Lewis Lapham ridiculed the piece as "a combination of ancient virtue, the power of its unbroken and recent past, and the hope for an American shot at the future."

A domestic ally Ignatieff struggled over his decision. "First he supported the war, but he did that tentatively because he was not sure he'd do it naturally. Then he had doubts about the war and was torn because he supported the war." Supporting the war was the most difficult decision of his life, Ignatieff says. "I have many second thoughts

about Iraq, obviously." But he maintains his basic convictions, which came out of witnessing Saddam's treatment of the Kurds and the Bosnians when he was making *Blood and Belonging* in 1991. "The question wasn't, did he have a nuclear program, did he have a biological program, but did he have the capacity and intention to acquire one," he says. "I told him that he constituted a danger."

An intrinsic belief Ignatieff's position was also influenced by the center's high-stakes environment and the easy access between the upper echelons of the U.S. government and Harvard. "This allowed him to see

## 'THERE'S NO BAD BOY TO MICHAEL. CLINTON WOULD WANT TO DRAG YOU INTO THE BEDROOM, BUT HE'LL DRAG YOU INTO A CLASSROOM,' SAYS ONE OF IGNATIEFF'S FRIENDS.

he persuaded." The American writer David Reardon, a former advocate of humanitarian intervention turned critic, met Ignatieff at a conference in Bosnia after the war. The two have sparred in print, though they have shared a personal relationship. Reardon says, "He's a brilliant guy. But what I don't think of as understood in the '90s was the degree to which the American project was completely hegemonic, that in some 'human rights' became the latest weapon for the American empire. And that's what I didn't see in the '90s and I think it's what Michael doesn't see to this day."

Reardon believes Ignatieff came to describe American power, though not the players. "I would think the Bush people would make him nervous," he says. "But he thought it was a storm he got in the work and he thought the engine of that force was the market. And by very much accident realized the military. We can see it in *Warrior's* *Threat*, *The Borders*, *Empire* *Life*. But I think Ignatieff's tendency to romanticize subjects is his most successful trait." The Achilles heel of Michael's journalism, of his fiction, of his everything—though not of his struggle forward academic work—is a certain sentimentalism of the people he admires and the causes he advocates.

The new landscape of detainment and interrogation programs Ignatieff's neo-philosophical high note was in *The Lesser Evil*. Political fiction in an age of terror, which he tried to make out whether the democratic ideals of Western liberal societies could be reconciled with the coercive measures required to deal with the threat of terrorism. He proposed possible dialogues, suggesting stark "torture interrogations" techniques—sleep deprivation, disorientation and disorientation—might be acceptable. The pro-

ble-spurred outrage and got him labelled pro-motor of "torture law." Ignatieff responded angrily to critics, accusing them of failing to grasp his intent. In 2004, he wrote a letter to the New York Times Book Review that began, "I've always thought it pathetic for authors to complain about reviews," before condemning its review of *The Lesser Evil* as "a travesty." It continued an "outraged rant." The next year he abruptly quit the editorial and advisory boards of the British scholarly quarterly *Daedalus* on *Consensus*, a defender of free speech, after it ran an essay by Ciaran Glynn, a professor of human rights law at

new blood to wash away the sponsorship of the war and infuse new life into the party. Ignatieff had been cast in potential liberal light in the early '90s when his name was bandied about as a possible successor to Jean Chrétien. Several friends say they spoke with Ignatieff over the years about returning to run for office. "The schematics with which he returned to me was an indication of him trying to insulate himself from the temptations," says one.

There had been caution offices to return in non-political roles. Levine says to run TV Ontario (when he was Ontario's first



PROTESTERS joined the party at the Elections-Lakeshore nomination meeting

and to head Massey College at the University of Toronto, among others. Robert Prichard, president and CEO of Toronto, says he tried to recruit his former UGC mate to U of T when he was the director of the Massey and was disappointed during the '90s. Ignatieff shrugged off all offers. "You can't go home again," he told Saturday Night in 1992.

Ignatieff fled, never leaving, oscillated between Canadian outposts and outsiders. In the early 1990s, he told an interviewer that the only thing he missed about Canada was Algonquin Park. In the preface to his 2000 book *The Right Revolution*, which named Canada an exemplar in upholding the claimed distance and linguistic minorities, he presented himself as an "alien." "This book may seem like a report by a visitor from a distant planet. I want to assure readers that I am a Manitowishwan." At Carr, however, he fit in. Ignatieff as a Canadian to the point of obsession, introducing debates on the Clarity Act, Aboriginal rights, NAFTA. "Literally every occasion of political judgment was preceded by 'Yin Canadian' or 'Yin Canadian' and," says Samantha Power, the human rights activist who became friends with Ignatieff

self" while she is right at the centre. "This was a long time before we were talking about going back to Canada. It was this bizarre trip he had." — Michael Ignatieff, "Is Canada?"

Dalhousie, as the centre on a fellowship in 1984, became an ally "I could find in him someone who could articulate things about Canada I only felt," he says. "He was out of the country but kept abreast with the country. I know a lot of people who live in this country but don't have such what gets on beyond their town, their region. If there's a country that's needed onto its belly button to ponder, it's Canada."

Ignatieff was a small citizen, well informed from afar. When he returned to a network of friends at the Basil Centre of Fine Arts, Ottawa, he says, to give his children a Rhodes incentive or to presidency in the 1990s Keith (now vice) in Toronto, he described Canada as a "fiction" that was "never finished, never finished in every mind that imagines but the fiction that allows us to see the world." "It's Canada was always eager to be heard. Former head of CBC TV programming Sheryl (now vice) that when Ignatieff's BBC work dried up in the mid '80s, Newsweek created an interview space for him based in London, which ran a year."

By 2004, Ignatieff's odyssey was winding down. He continued the conversation with party organizers. "I had to sit out whether they had the organizational issues to create a nomination," he says. Certainly he had no doubt "length" (he looks translated into a dozen languages, eight doctorates (seven honorary), two grand children, an ex-wife, two kids, awards and in translation terms). Additionally, there was the burden of "The Bard" — Sumner Power believes that the fallout from the war in Iraq played a formative influence in his decision to run for office. "I do think the war brought to light a dimension that became unsustainable," she says. "It was 'Show me the money' with the world." All of the whims of being a public intellectual come to feel a little going on when the stakes are that high. I think going in wrong exposed doubt, and the war going in wrong as it did. I don't know whether it's a dampening or compensation or a brevement in the bad judgment of people in power." Ignatieff says "long realized a state that I've not only never belonged there but I could never participate there," he says. "And there's something about sitting being a columnist writing endless pieces for the New

York Times. I'd gone in for as I could go." He alludes to other metaphysical needs. "I wanted to feel at home in my own country and I wanted to participate in my own country's life and I felt I had something to offer," he says. "I had international experience. I had a lifetime of liberal communications. If you look at the worst work, it's all about what being a liberal is."

The writing this case granted insight into his outlook at the time, however, is Charles Johnson in the *Flower*, his third novel, published to little fanfare in 2003. Its central character is a world-weary American newsman in Kosovo who watches helplessly as the women who had provided their shelter to

the three businessmen — and everything else, ladies and gentlemen, to itself," he said. In June, Ignatieff and Zohar made his long-term Liberal organizer Senator David Stronach, who conferred his blessing. In August came his appointment as Chancellor of Justice (Vice Professor) in Human Rights Policy at the University of Toronto. After a federal election was called at the end of November, a violent, warring riding campaign in Etobicoke Lakeshore when veteran Liberal MP Joan Armstrong abandoned her seat after an avalanche that with Stronach and a meeting with Ignatieff. He would be nominated by advocates after all other applicants were rejected on technical grounds.

Ignatieff's Canadian audience were always national. In an interview in the *Globe and Mail*, he identified the "unholy trinity" of Quebec separatists, his own political philosophy, and "the issue of multiculturalism in Canada." He said, "We have no choice or don't we? The next time I see a platform there is a separate challenge." He presented it as a do-or-die proposition, so if the year were 1969, "I thought, this [election] has got my name on it," he said. "I don't want to be sitting in an ivory tower years later bemoaning how things turned out." Though born in Toronto, Ignatieff has always identified with Quebec. He says the prospect of the province's separation fills him "with some-

thing, of course. Ruminating on Trudeau's legacy in *Saturday Night* in 1987, he pointed that Trudeau meant the Canadian politician would "be allowed that Canadians could realize up now (are you don't have to be) failure, you don't have to be approachable, and you can challenge and debate the assumptions of the dominant and who is confident." It is not the fault if we are still waiting for a generation of Canadian politicians secure enough with their own identity to exploit his breakthrough in the rules of political discourse. He wrote, "My paraphrase is, Ignatieff did find Trudeau, meaning 'inherent' a good national party and left it a wing. If the prime is pulled not only by his actions but by the quality of the succession he manages to emerge, then there is a lot of failure to explain." It would be this same kind of fall out that paved the way for Ignatieff's inability as a candidate whose political record was private by its very absence.

Ignatieff's political work in progress, a compendium of his professional achievements, adapting the immersion approach of his sentence-journalistic past, he set off on a "Taming" tour of the country. He wrote a policy primer, *Agenda for Nation Building*, briefing with deeply phoned countries — a shared "sense of citizenship," the phrase "Quality of our nation, man it Canada or men pass," and the identification of the new "two solitudes" in the urban-rural divide. "We are a great people, we are a serious people," he instructs his fellow Liberals.

The former virtual citizen is still fixating on his audience. That was revealed in his now notorious response to the long-standing of civilians in the Lebanese village of Qana. "It is not going to last sleep over this," he said that he regarded it as "a war crime." Both appeared accusations of a human rights professor — by name (and not inquisitor) — who seemed a sympathetic audience. Afforded Ignatieff's suggests that the Bhopal "was going to last sleep" does not also be used to Ignatieff's former life as a pundit. "He did not have a TV personality persona either then wearing the discipline of a political leader in a dangerous environment," he says.

Ignatieff can appear like a savant who has read the guidebooks yet local residents' sparse knowledge of where neighborhoods were dangerous. His absence from the country is revealed in the details. At a meeting discussing the future of cities, someone said, "Hanoi was the last," reference to legendary 1970s Hanoi Massacre of Missions. One "Who Hanoi?" he asked. When asked about Quebec citizens on the Quebec talk show *Time to Make Paris*, he mentioned Joan Proulx-Lefebvre, the director for whom he had wife organized a 1981 retrospective.

In London, Stephen Gosselin says he attended a luncheon in Toronto at the National Club where Ignatieff had the crowd that the Liberal party had always been a party of ideas. "And he said it with a straight face," he says.

His organizers say Gosselin's comment has taken time. "It's really relaxing," says one. "He doesn't look like he has put all the time away. It takes a little time to learn that, to find your emotional centre of gravity." Zohar a often by his side. Informal in style, she works the crowd easily. While approachable, she refuses to let down for a formal interview. The couple is about his husband, not her, she says. "We've been for one and it doesn't work," she jokes.



"IGNATION" was the campaign initiative designed to include youth delegates' support.

referring to the Clinton presidency. Yet the former publicist's influence at play, she observes her husband through her. Choral glasses not so doing, repeat but as FR expert, advising him on who he should be talking to, what people say when he walks away, to better his posture. It is a pattern they established at Harvard when she'd occasionally sit in his classes. In public, the couple appear seamless, touching often. On holiday they road-trip through mountains to see another, even by A. Yehoshua's *A Woman at Jerusalem*. Returning to Canada was always part of their plan, says Zohar, who has applied for Canadian citizenship. "You can only have political voice in your own country."

Canada, Ignatieff has decided, is now his great stage, the backdrop for his husband's self. He refers to Frank Piker, a Canadian actor acting as a copywriter for the Gosselin in Paris in 1948 and later returned and married in Balthasar as a hero. "My mother loved him and probably

would have married him," he says. "There are highly defining experiences for me and that it happened before I was born." His family provides a Vancouver pool in the little red, a barbeque bar to nation building glory days. He speaks of his father standing on the roof of his father's house in London during the Blitz. He defines himself as a "Mike Pearson liberal" with the phrase that Pearson says "passionate as a" *flour* in *Journal*. He picks up the baton from Sir Wilfrid Laurier, the 47-year-old parliamentarian in 1901 "one Lincoln." "The 10th century belonged to the United States," he says, opening Laurier's premise that the century would be Canada's. "It's possible that the 21st century will belong to China and India. Canada will have

## HIS THIRD-PERSON SENSE OF SELF COULD GRATE. 'SOMEONE LIKE ME DOESN'T EXIST IN AMERICA, AND THAT SEEMS TO ME TO BE TERRIBLE.'

not comfort by a Serbian soldier. He sets out to confront the soldier with cultural nuance. A scene of direct emotion through the novel. "What he wanted to do was to go home," Ignatieff writes of his central character. "But there wasn't one to go to." Ignatieff rejects comparisons between himself and his fictional character. But he does admit to a need to feel "unholy." His father returned to Canada as the provost at Trinity College at the University of Toronto when he was in his fifties, he says. "I saw what it did for him; I gave him a sense of being home. I think there's some kind of haunting emotion that has stayed from father to son."

Like one with which Ignatieff arrived on the political stage removes any doubt of his outsider status. He was asked to deliver the keynote address at the Liberal party convention in March 2005. His national audience. A paragraph to the party, the speech revealed Ignatieff's Big Picture sensitivity. "National unity, sovereignty, social justice—

thing like physical pain, anguish, tears. It can't be about it. My parents are buried there. It's very emotional."

It would be argue Ultramarine-Catholics, however, not arguments, who opposed his political every after a quiet from *Abol* and *Abol* was span out of center. Fighting through the frame, Ignatieff was the seat headily. Andrew Ignatieff recalls a conversation he had with his brother before he came back. "I told him Canadian politics is not about ideas and vision, it's the mad scramble itself," he says. "And I think the one thing he found out about himself is that he's a scamp." The unexpected Liberal defeat denied Ignatieff his anticipated learning curve. His opportunity ended when Frank McKenna chose not to run for the leadership. On April 7, stepping back and making room for the House of Commons, Ignatieff announced his candidacy. The man who described himself as a slave would, not an argumentative one. In *Saturday Night* in 1992, was ready to lead the pack.

He had theorized about political leader-

PHOTOGRAPH BY CHRISTOPHER WALKER

DAVID BELLEVILLE

when I went to graduate school—was that if you grew up in Canada, your orientation is that life is elsewhere and ‘the Palace’ is somewhere else. I went to the Palace and looked around the Palace and did okay on the Palace and realize that that was an illusion, that this place is the place to be.”

“There’s a tension, a deadliness between Michael the novelist and Michael the historian,” says a relative. “But it’s also a sense of the strength of politicians to project their self image on

others.” It’s how Quebec MP Pablo Rodriguez introduced Ignatieff before a speech at the Université de Montréal.

Writing of the liberal philosopher Joseph Bevilacqua in his acclaimed biography, *Joseph Bevilacqua: A Life*, Ignatieff celebrated the intellectual unshackled by partisan concern. “In a dark country, he showed what a life of the mind should be: skeptical, unswayed, dispassionate and free.” Politics encompasses that liberty, Ignatieff concludes. “In the exercise of

has a great collapse of belief and becomes deeply pessimistic or he walks away.”

A friend sees another pattern. “The lesson through his life is that he has never been entirely comfortable in any chair he sat in. Being a pure academic wasn’t happening for him, being a pure journalist wasn’t enough for him, and accepting the discipline and constraints of being a pure politician is demonstrably not very comfortable to him either.” That was evident during the October all-candidates’ debate in Toronto, when Ignatieff accused Bob Rae of having an infatuation with Osama bin Laden. Rae countered with “I’m not the one who’s changed my mind three times in a week on the Middle East issue.” Ignatieff then turned the political personal. “You’ve

**AT A HOLIDAY DINNER, IGNATIEFF SAID, ‘YOU’RE THE NICEST AUDIENCE I’VE HAD IN A LONG TIME.’ HIS WIFE HAD TO TELL HIM, ‘THIS IS A FAMILY, NOT A STUDIO AUDIENCE.’**

others. His uncle George Gens was a professor at the University of Toronto and produced a bestselling book in *Letters for a Nation*. Churchill was someone as well who was able to transcend his own ambitions with a country. In some ways he was a totalist but he was very good for the time.”

Ignatieff volunteers that his ambitions are now trained with Canada. He presents himself as a humble public servant rather than a cunning stage player. “I’ve been a bit of a player. I’ve been loyal to myself,” he says. “But I’ve not been loyal to a community. Being loyal to a community and trying to serve a community is a part of my life that hasn’t been there, and I would like it to be there.” He defaults to professor mode. “Be come here we get to a very delicate issue—and you have to report this correctly, in context,” he instructs. “One of the things that Bob as my rival says—and says fairly, I think—is I’ve never taken responsibility. What he misunderstands is that’s precisely why I’ve run for political office: to take those responsibilities, to shoulder them.”

David Smith, the political scientist and author of Ignatieff’s *Myself: A Liberal Leader for the 21st Century*, is doubtful that Ignatieff’s romantic notion of the country can be sustained. “With all he gets to know us,” he says. “I don’t think we can live up to his lofty expectations.” Those close to him say the journey from “small” to “big” liberal has been trying. “I think he finds some of the inner workings of the party very hard,” Andrew Ignatieff says. “And the self-interest of the officials and the selfishness of it.” Michael Ignatieff shows frustration at being misunderstood as an intellectual. “People who say I’m an intellectual forget I’ve been a voter reporter,” he says. “I’ve seen reporters, I’ve seen bodies... The idea that I’m a big, big happy intellectual is as far from the truth as possible.” (His campaign has distanced itself from his big thinker reputation.) “Here



DINING WITH young Liberals: “I think he finds the inner workings of the party very hard.”

leadership you have to be careful not to let personal experience and tearing personal conviction drive you too far. You have to balance those concerns—which I will never abandon or lose—against a whole set of other concerns.” But Ignatieff’s bold foray into the gutter of contemporary politics with Quebec is the latest suggestion his convictions exceed his need for public approval. “He doesn’t lead the country,” Smith says. “Or it might come partly out of his enlarged ego. He might think that despite his exceptional knowledge of our recent history, he can simply come in and overcome all of the difficulties from above.” Smith observes Ignatieff has a pattern of “dreaming what you’ve done, when it fails he

known me for 40 years, you know that’s not true,” he said, upbraiding Rae for trying to do what politicians do: score political points.

Last night, at his campaign’s after-party in a downtown bar, Ignatieff shows greater ease in the theatre of ideas. He becomes animated talking to a journalist who is writing about the current state of liberalism. “Here you read Peter Bernstein’s *The Good Play*,” he asks him, before offering suggestions on how the journalist’s article should be amended. “I wish I was writing that rather than running this campaign,” he says, trusting his audience to understand he’s joking. Or perhaps he’s already 150 miles ahead, just waiting for us to catch up. ■



#### BOY SCOUTS SHOULDN'T JUDGE DICTATORS

“They’ve had an open and transparent trial where evidence was heard, but at this point, my understanding is there is an appeal process to follow, so given that fact, I think it would be perceptive to be giving any judgments or making any firm public declarations until all of their evidence has been exhausted.” Always eager to be fair and partial, Foreign Affairs Minister Peter MacKay reserved comment on Saddam Hussein’s death sentence.

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**Murder or politics?**

Do you agree or disagree with the following statement: 'Suicide bombings, which kill innocent civilians, can be a legitimate form of political action'?



In 1992, the corruption issue—not linked by the question to political, law or business—put the U.S. dramatically down to responses from Russia, Iran, Lebanon and India, among others. "They're just saying, 'hey U.S., by the way, we're not afraid of corruption, we're the strongest and best at corruption, we are the strongest and best,'" the people who are prying for the corruption are the ones who are actually answering the poll," says "One World," says McGill's Miskin. "Error." The fraud-fueled collapse of the giant energy trader who took American faith in the private sector, she says. "America went through their [pollsters] Calvey and Watergate," she says. "Error was a symbol that this was a pervasive issue in the corporate world." More is there much faith in the U.S. justice system, just 27 per cent of Americans said in

1992. The corruption issue—not linked by the question to political, law or business—put the U.S. dramatically down to responses from Russia, Iran, Lebanon and India, among others. "They're just saying, 'hey U.S., by the way, we're not afraid of corruption, we're the strongest and best at corruption, we are the strongest and best,'" the people who are prying for the corruption are the ones who are actually answering the poll," says "One World," says McGill's Miskin. "Error." The fraud-fueled collapse of the giant energy trader who took American faith in the private sector, she says. "America went through their [pollsters] Calvey and Watergate," she says. "Error was a symbol that this was a pervasive issue in the corporate world." More is there much faith in the U.S. justice system, just 27 per cent of Americans said in

**(In)security**

Well, there goes the neighborhood. As world opinion shifts, Canada has above the country posing the single greatest threat to world peace: a country run by a man so despised he sits just behind North Korea's explosive Kim Jong Il in the post-humous of popular leaders. The wonder of the world, as measured by the 20 nations survey on violence by Angus Reid Strategic, has not been long to Canada's closest ally and largest trading partner. When asked which country is "the greatest threat to global stability," 51 per cent of respondents worldwide named the United States. Iran, a country that does not play well with others, finished second at 18 per cent, followed in descending order of concern, by China, Israel, Iraq and North Korea. Russia, once the great lumbering bear of global instability, finished a distant eighth, at 11, 57 per cent of Canadians and 45 per cent of Mexicans ranked the U.S. as the highest threat. So did 46 per cent of Russians, 60 per cent of those in Turkey and 43 per cent of those in China. Most worrying, one-quarter of Americans agreed.

The increasing role of suicide bombings, who are causing a heavy toll of civilians and soldiers in the Middle East, has led to support, though not blanket condemnation, asked if "suicide bombings, which kill innocent civilians, can be a legitimate form of political action," more of 10 Canadian, American and Russian respondents said no. Still, such bombings were considered legitimate by 21 per cent of respondents from Turkey, 21 per cent from Japan, 27 per cent from Egypt, 29 per cent from Saudi Arabia and 19 per cent from Lebanon. "Ninety per cent of the world-wide population is saying 'no way,'" says Reid. "This is frankly an area where you have these Muslim countries which are far more likely to see this as a point of legitimacy."

of blue-haired Canadian peacekeepers is viewed as "concerned" by 87 per cent of Canadians. The world tends to agree, though in less enthusiastic numbers. However, a majority of Germans, 93 per cent, see little value in Canada's peacekeeping role, as do 42 per cent of Americans.

When it comes to helping poorer countries, eight in 10 Canadian respondents don't see themselves "very generous." The world generally agrees—though Canadians where near meeting its stated goal of spending 0.7 per cent of its gross domestic product on international

**In the eyes of the world**

aid. Just ask US front man Boon—he'll tell you, again and again and again. So, Canada is possible and a lot of success. Above all, however, it's a banner of internationalism, asked if "suicide bombings, which kill innocent civilians, can be a legitimate form of political action," more of 10 Canadian, American and Russian respondents said no. Still, such bombings were considered legitimate by 21 per cent of respondents from Turkey, 21 per cent from Japan, 27 per cent from Egypt, 29 per cent from Saudi Arabia and 19 per cent from Lebanon. "Ninety per cent of the world-wide population is saying 'no way,'" says Reid. "This is frankly an area where you have these Muslim countries which are far more likely to see this as a point of legitimacy."

**Lament for a nation, my foot**  
Political philosopher George Grant's *Lament for a Nation*, with modern men of the future of

and president Canada, has different views every Canadian political science student of the past 40 years, says UNC's Byers. Grant's belief that conservatism would turn Canada into a bunch of places, under the border as "autonomous," and only the Canadian identity, is treated as more good. But, says Byers, the Madison survey shows the Canadian pay the benefits—65 Grant's choice that's too little. "It's kind of like somebody coming along and saying God doesn't exist," he says.

One measure of the confidence in Canada's support for free trade, which has grown

to 66 per cent from 42 per cent in 1992. "Canadians are increasingly realizing that we can be an economic, healthy, vibrant power here in Canada, over which we're building lots and lots of strategy, trading with the United States," says Byers. Canadians can trade with nations without going over with it, and while rejecting many of America's foreign policies, says Byers.

Does that make Canadians anti-American? Not at all, says Miskin. "What they're really saying is they don't like the kinds of policies that are being put into place, or the rhetoric of the current [U.S.] administration," she says. More than half of Americans, she notes, also disagree with the direction of the current administration. "I think we have a lot of similarities," she says. "I think this poll confirms that."

Auto when the poll's done to make that two lines, if that's, Canada identity will, good luck. We're not like America, it seems to say, but we're not like America—after those American who don't like where America is headed. A good Canadian, in other words, to be a bad American. It's not much of a definition, but the rest of the world seems to like just that. ■

**ON THE WEB:** For more complete results from the Canada and the World poll see [www.mcgill.ca/worldpoll](http://www.mcgill.ca/worldpoll)

**Methodology:** The Maclean's Canada and the World survey was conducted by Angus Reid Strategic between Sept. 22 and Oct. 4, 2006. Responses were collected via online surveys of a random sample of 18,000 Canadians in the poll. There were 1,200 respondents from Canada in 2004 and 2005 in each of the other countries—except Lebanon, which had a sample of 112. The Canadian and U.S. results are considered as valid. The responses of the overall population to which add or minus three per cent, times out of 20. The smaller samples have a margin of error of plus or minus five per cent. The poll was conducted in the domestic language of each country, except in India and South Africa, where English was used. Reid says the poll's analysis is representative of the general population in the U.S., Canada, Australia and all European countries surveyed. In countries with lower computer usage, the results "are somewhat skewed toward the more urban, educated and affluent segments of the population."

**Canada's affair with Australia**

G'day, eh? The United States has long been the obvious choice for Canadians seeking a fresh start in new surroundings, but given their drifters, some Canadians would like with their Commonwealth cousins in Australia. Australia is the first choice, at 18 per cent, for Canadians when asked, "If you could live in any country in the world, other than your own, which country would you choose to live in?" The U.S. in second place, is the choice of 14 per cent. "There is clearly an Aussie Canadian love affair going on," says pollster Angus Reid.

Australia is a natural partner in this long-distance affair. Canada is the first choice as a new home for 17 per cent of Australian respondents, with the U.S. as second place with 13 per cent. New Zealand and Britain—the motherland for many Aussies—are tied for third with 10 per cent. Worldwide, though, the U.S. is the destination of choice for the largest share of respondents, 14 per cent. Australia is the world's second choice at 12 per cent, while Canada ranking next at 10 per cent. "We're No. 3," notes Reid. "How very Canadian of us."

Gerry D'Amore, one of Quebec's who chose Australia, and has spent two decades analyzing why Toronto arrived to do a Ph.D. at the University of Sydney. Today, he's director of the Centre of Canadian-Australian Studies at the University of Waterloo. "Aussies have what seems to be an innate and automatic affinity for Canada and Canadians," he says, "but often there is very little detail about why they feel this way, except, perhaps vaguely, that we are kindred spirits."

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RAOUEED NAWASSI and his family moved to Montreal since the war was over

# CANADIANS OUT OF CONVENIENCE

Canada was little more than a brief refuge for many escaping the war in Lebanon  
BY MARTIN PATRISQUIN • PHOTOGRAPHS BY LIAM MALONEY

It took hours and the distinct possibility of death to convince Zeina Mawassi that she would move her family to Canada for good. On the evening of July 15, Mawassi, her husband, Ali, and their three young boys huddled on the floor of a school in the south Lebanese town of Bir Jabbaj. Hezbollah fighters were on one side of the build-

ing, Israeli soldiers on the other. The red-suiting bands raged, screams, fire incense. "The bombs were falling like rain, and I didn't know how I would go alive," she said. "But I decided when I did that we would go to Canada."

The family conveyed with several others to Beirut, where the Mawassis became part of

the estimated 200,000 evacuation effort to Canada—and, Zeina hoped at the time, to a life unburdened by war. In Montreal, she would enroll her kids in school, and her husband would open a small apartment in Lebanese goods. These Canadian passports were like tickets out of hell, and she was grateful to never have to go back.

It seems strange, then, that Mawassi tells a father ordered from her house in Aytrous, a small village about 20 kilometers from the Israeli border. Three months after they left, the house is alive once again with the noisy play of the Mawassi boys, who are about to begin school nearby. Ali has reopened his restaurant downtown. The faded portrait of Hezbollah leader Hassan Nasrallah goes over the chandeliers and sponsors of their meticulous living room.



Asked of her change of heart, Mawassi only shrugs. If it happens again, Canada will surely organize another evacuation. "If at some point we feel that the children aren't in peace and safety, we will leave again for Canada. When we had a problem, we went to Canada. When it was safe again, we went back to Lebanon."

Are people like Ali and Zeina Mawassi Canadian only by convenience? It is a question many Canadians are asking after the government's massive evacuation effort this summer, during which some 15,000 Lebanese

Canadians fled Lebanon. Now, reportedly, some 70,000 have since gone back, despite a warning committee with Israel and its economy minister by war. Part of the reason for the anti-refugee was the intensity of the war itself. In a country used to protracted, decades-long battles, the month-long conflict was as short as it was brutal. "I guess if the war had taken six months or more, there would be more people who would stay in Canada rather than come back," says Gabe Dantagnan, president of the Beirut-based Lebanese Canadian Business Association.

"If the war had gone for six years, as the civil war did, it might have been difficult to come back."

There are bound to be increases in government assistance

country," Reuters says. "When they called us, we realized it was far more serious than we thought." Once she made the decision to leave with her husband, Ali, and two young boys, it would be, as she says, "to live in Canada forever." Though she isn't herself Canadian, her husband and children were, and because she thought it would be relatively easy to find work as a physician's nurse in the other side of the Atlantic.

Upon landing in Montreal, they thought they would stay put. They rented on a part-

**"THE BEST PRESENT MY FATHER EVER GAVE ME WAS A CANADIAN PASSPORT. WHEN YOU LIVE IN [LEBANON], YOU NEED A WAY OUT."**



QUEBEC'S language laws made life tough for the Bouchados

ment in the West Island suburb of Dollard-des-Ormeaux, and enrolled their eldest son, Frederic, 2, in "Canadian football," complete with shoulder pads and a word-looking ball. For the coming school year, then the Bouchados family encountered a well-known trap to many who have recently come to Quebec: the province's requirement that all new arrivals go to French school.

Bouchados, who is francophone, but whose children were being taught primarily in English, wanted them to go to English school. But in Quebec, "if you all [French], especially non-francophones," Reuters says, "the system is tough. Predicting the system and the numbers, but it didn't work. He became nervous constantly. He even had nightmares. I started to ask myself why I would put my kid in that situation. We went to Canada for the kids, so we didn't want to cause them any more anguish."

In early October, the family that left Lebanon because of war returned because of Quebec's language laws. The couple hasn't given up hope on Canada, however. Bouchados' husband is still there looking for work—in Toronto. "At least I could learn English," she says of the possibility of moving to that city. And she remains Canada will again be there as a haven should the situation in Lebanon deteriorate. "It's nice to know that if there's ever another crisis, I'll own my way."

That they can do so is a thanks to a 1997 change in Canadian citizenship law, which allowed immigrants to hold as official a number of foreign passports and still remain

Canadian citizens (and which former Liberal immigration minister Judy Smith, among others, now suggests is "ripe for exploitation"). It was a boon for thousands of Lebanese, who fled to Canada during the civil war in Canada; they identified as Lebanese Canadians—and not as one of the myriad and antagonistic religious sects living and fighting in Lebanon. At the same time, dual citizenship allowed easy return for a people with a well-known (and unbroken) attachment to their homeland. Villages like Aytrous, for example, typically swell to two or three times their size at the summer or autumn of the Lebanese diaspora return for the holidays.

Today, the largest Lebanese Canadian community is in Montreal. By and large, it is middle-class, well-educated and successful. In the last three years, Canadian exports of goods to Lebanon have increased by more than 60 percent. (The biggest single export? Used cars.) "The link is very profitable to Canada," says Dantagnan. "In Canada, we are a little bit toward-looking. The biggest business partner in America, and Canadians are not really interested in going to other places. It takes a country like Lebanon, which is very small, to be able to go around and explore. Why should we live in a ghetto? Because we're Canadian we can't go abroad!"

It is ironic, Dantagnan suggests, to talk of "about" of Canada's evacuation effort when the lives of Canadians were in danger. Yes, glory of people have gone back to Lebanon, but many of those will likely return to Canada, and may well leave again. Of the country is just the Lebanese way.

Take the case of Mira Nakhoul. The 31-year-old Lebanese-Canadian (her mother's brother was born in Beirut and lived in Paris and Los Angeles before settling in Montreal with her father, himself a Lebanese Canadian, for 30 years. After graduating from McGill, she moved to London and then back to Beirut. She paid her own way out of Beirut during the bombing and has since returned, much to the chagrin of her extended family in Montreal.

Like most Lebanese, Nakhoul struggles to put her affection for Lebanon into words. It's the people, the food, the chaos, the pride of one of the Arab world's few democracies. And if the country should descend into war once again—and she isn't optimistic—she always has her Canadian passport. "To tell you the truth, one of the reasons I felt safe to come back to Beirut was because I had dual citizenship," Nakhoul says from her seat at a Beirut café overlooking the Mediterranean. "The best present my father ever gave me was a Canadian passport. Unlike honestly, when you live in a country like this, you need a way out." ■

# Al-Jazeera is coming—maybe

**The English network is launching Nov. 15, but where can we watch it?**

**BY JONATHAN GATHEHOUSE** • Al-Jazeera's controversial—and long delayed—English language news channel finally hits the air on Nov. 15, but with such little fanfare that its debut is shaping up to be more of a enigma than a launch.

A globe spanning, 24-hour world feed broadcast on CNN, Fox News and the BBC, al-Jazeera International has spent tens of millions constructing a trio of the world's 100 broadcast centers in Washington, London, Kuala Lumpur and Dubai, Qatar, the home base of its parent Arabic-language channel. Viewed by the natural gas fortune of the country's emir, the flagging network has hired more than 300 journalists from 30 nations, including stars like Sir David Frost, Rie Koo, former CNN International anchor, and Dave Marsh, ex of ABC's *Nightline*. A number of Canadian broadcasters have also signed on, including Kimberly Halkett, formerly a Global TV anchor, ex CBC sports anchor Brynnae Connors, and Richard Glibert, along time ABC News correspondent.

But with less than a week to go until Al-Jazeera hits the air, there are few details available about its programming, or even how viewers around the globe are supposed to tune in. The network, which was to be available in up to 40 million households world wide at launch, is being exceptionally tight-lipped about who will be carrying its signals, especially in North America. "We don't have any specifics to discuss at this point," says Marc Strykowski, a New York-based network spokesman. "We're kind of holding off on making these announcements."

Al-Jazeera has had considerable trouble selling itself to cable and satellite providers who fear a backlash from pressure groups and customers over its parent company's perceived terrorist sympathies. Al-Jazeera has become a favorite target of American conservatives who allege the network operates as a propaganda arm for al-Qaeda and other Islamic radical groups. Two of its employees are legal-

ly on trial in Spain, the other is Guantanamo Bay for "collaborating" with terrorist groups, although the company maintains their innocence. U.S. forces in Afghanistan and Iraq "accidentally" bombed the network's base in Amman, Jordan, George W. Bush reportedly tried to tell Tony Blair on a recent visit to attack al-Jazeera's headquarters in Qatar—a U.S. friendly nation. The Arab language channel also faced widespread opposition from the Canadian Jewish Congress and B'nai B'rith when it sought a domestic broadcast license two years ago. The CRTC eventually gave its



**FANS WANT REASSURANCE THAT IT HASN'T 'GONE SOFT' ON THE WEST**



**CABLE COMPANIES like Rogers, Shaw and Vidéotron have no plans to broadcast it**

newspapers to get the license to read such banter. And at this point, it doesn't appear that the flagging network has a Canadian cable or satellite provider lined up. Peter Stocco, president of Shaw Communications Inc., says his company has had no contact whatsoever with the network and will wait to see if there is any demand for the service. Rogers, which held preliminary discussions last spring, says it has no plans to air the channel. Quebec's Vidéotron, which also he'd tell, is in the same boat. And most tellingly, the CRTC, which must license the channel for broad-

cast—cable, digital or satellite—in Canada, has yet to receive an application.

Trading lightly in North America's hostile markets may just be sound business strategy. The network's real target audience lies in non-Arab-Muslim nations like Indonesia and Pakistan, where al-Jazeera's brand is already well known and respected. But there are other dangers associated with the new project. Fans of the formerly independent-minded Arab service will be looking for reassurance that the company has not "gone soft" on Western powers. And Internet sites are already abuzz with charges that Al-Jazeera's mostly British staffs thus have brought along a decidedly more pro-U.S. and pro-Israel bent.

The official explanation for the delays that have plagued Al-J—the launch has been postponed a half dozen times as far—as has been technical problems. But there have also been runnings of power struggles at its sway. In an attempt to ensure the new channel doesn't stray too far from the al-Jazeera formula, Director of programming Paul Gibbs, a former BBC editor, was dismissed in August, and the new enterprise has since been brought under the direct control of the Arab channel. Whatever the underlying reasons, the melding of cultures has not gone smoothly. Al-J employees

who were flown to Qatar for political orientation classes designed to help them overcome their Western biases received a stern warning about their off-hours behavior this past spring. "Do not get drunk in public, do not wander around late into the night disturbing the neighbors and do not wander around half-naked," read the email. "And I am appalled to have to state the blindingly obvious: copious sunbathing by the pool is not acceptable behavior!" ■

jonathan.gathehouse@maclean's.rogers.com



TRAVEL



SPORTS



CRIME



RELIGION



FAMILY

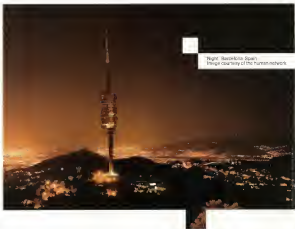


COMEDY

**ISSUES IN EVERY ISSUE.**

**MACLEAN'S**  
MAKE SENSE OF IT ALL





Night, Barcelona Spain  
Image courtesy of the human network

On the human network, the whole world is a lab. Welcome to a place where web applications mash together and create new experiences. Where marketers turn to customers to invent new products. Where researchers tap into collaborative intelligence to find new cures faster. Where everyone joins together to make things better. All it takes is a network. The story continues at [cisco.com/humannetwork/ca](http://cisco.com/humannetwork/ca).

welcome to  
the human network.



BUSINESS



FURIOUS: Thousands of seniors suffered big losses after the Conservatives' tax reforms were revealed

## BREACH OF TRUST?

**Tory supporters howled over the plan to tax trusts, but in the long run, they'll be better off**

**BY JASON EMMY** • Trusts to be that a loud-mouthed Conservative MP would always count on current trusts which he called a living cesspool in Parliament. In mid-October when Ralph Goodale, the former Liberal finance minister, would on about trusts and broken promises, Treasury Island President John Reid pointed. "When I hear [Goodale's] voice and trust, it makes me think of the income trust scandal," the largely unheeded, referring to how Goodale fumbled the case during that election. The Liberals' bungling cost pensioners "tens of millions of dollars," Reid liked to remind people. But that opinion compared to the 130-billion tax increases took last week after the Harper government broke its promise not to tax income trusts. Now the Conservatives are on the defensive. But observers are coming around to the idea that the tax move won't hurt the party or its business-minded supporters nearly as much as initially predicted.

On the day of it, Finance Minister Jim Flaherty's decision to tax income trust distributions came as a body blow to the government's biggest force—Ray Street, the oil patch

and seniors. The bankers and lawyers who fell the market with a steady diet of income trusts look set to lose out on millions in advisory fees. Canaccord Adams, a Toronto-based investment bank, promptly blamed the proposal. Its analysts urged concerned Canadians to "sell their MPs and sell them to put the brakes on the legislation." In Calgary, applied energy trust executives formed a coalition to oppose the tax change. "I hold our politicians to a higher standard on this one," said John DeWitt, head of ARC Energy Trust this week. "I will, as an individual, do everything I can to make sure voters are informed." And seniors found a voice in September Schulich, the 66-year-old mining entrepreneur and philanthropist who happens to be a major energy trust investor. "I think it will cost them the next election," he warned. "Don't mess around with seniors."

Tough words. But others insist that the Tories essentially had no choice but to act, given the threat to the federal tax base, and that the fundamental logic behind the move

will eventually calm over the angrier critics.

The debate threatened this fall when Canada's two largest phone companies, Telus and BCE, planned to restructure as income trusts—essentially proceeding to pay out most of their profits, or cash flow, to unit holders as dividends. Less profit means less corporate taxes, and according to Jack Mirvis, a professor at the University of Toronto's Rotman School of Management, income trust conversions were on track to leave a gaping, \$1-billion hole in government coffers. Meanwhile there were worries the trust structure discouraged businesses from reinvesting in their growth.

But even Mirvis thought there was only a 10 per cent chance Ottawa would plug the loophole before the next federal election. Days later, Flaherty dropped the bombshell, triggering the uproar and days of angry recriminations in the media.

Despite the swirling hue and cry, there are strong arguments to be made that voters across the board will be better off for it. Of all those affected, the tiny Street crowd will benefit least the fastest. The phones are already ringing at trust-structured companies across the country, as lawyers and accountants offer to help CEOs convert back to corporate status—for a fee, of course. And wherever billions of dollars are in play, as they are now, bankers will find ways to grab a slice. At investors lose their appetite for income trusts, you can expect the brokerage to devise new products to pitch.

Meanwhile, the newly formed Coalition of Canadian Energy Trusts has pleaded with Ottawa to slow down and meet with energy trusts before acting. Earlier this week, the group warned of five consequences to the oil and gas sector, such as lost foreign investment and a reduction in energy production in Canada. But a lengthy consultation process involving executives, lawyers, bankers, and senators and politicians would be a relief.

EMPLOYEE  
OF THE  
WEEK

### SPRINKL BROTHEL'S HOT21 MAINTAINING ORDER

The Franken Mueller brothel in Berlin has hired a 20-year-old grandmother to act as bouncer. Waltraud Heiter, also known as "Mutter," keeps order the drunk and disorderly, and she's the last bouncer left by an old lady in her line. Her employees, Jackson Vespene, hotel even settles disputes among prostitutes. Says Vespene, "If she hears a squabble between the girls, she will shout, 'Spill them, all quiet on the deck please.' Total silence always follows."

for both and abusive insider trading. That's what happened when the Liberals launched the subject last year. At the same time, it's difficult to see why foreign investors would withhold their capital from Canada's booming energy sector simply because the income trust is poised to shut off surging global demand for Canada's oil and gas until about 2012.

It's hard not to feel for those seniors who loaded up their portfolios with income trusts, only to see them hemorrhage overnight. There are already stories of seniors with as much as 90 per cent of their savings parked in trusts. But chances are, those investors were lured by disinformation. David Ungerleider, a Toronto-based analyst who works with the National Pensioners & Senior Citizens Federation, has been warning seniors for months that trusts are too risky. Her newspaper didn't see her many friends. Last month, she appeared on TV to say trusts had no place in a retiree's portfolio because of their poor disclosure and fee-by-validation. Her email box filled with angry seniors. "I would recommend you take up something that is worse or better, such as investing or buying or having bonds," wrote one man furiously.

But if anything, her analysis showed that trusts were headed for a major correction, regardless of what Ottawa did. For one thing, too many trusts pay too much in distributions than they take in. In those cases, the trusts end up handing unitholders back their own capital. So for this year, more than two dozen trusts have cut their payouts, triggering a collapse in their unit prices. If Canada were to enter a recession, many trusts would be in hard. On that bank, trusts were hardly an ideal investment for seniors looking for stability, she says. In an October report, the Canadian Business Income Trusts to Large Canadian public corporations on the basis of pre-tax income. The results showed trusts traded at a 33 per cent premium to corporations. Even after the post-9/11 downturn, the trust trusts have had to fall. "It's like another 15 to 20 per cent over market," she says.

There is good news in all this. Ottawa introduced tax measures for seniors that probably wouldn't have been put in place otherwise. Both income-splitting and tax income in the age could will offer seniors \$1 billion in tax savings next year, and \$6 billion over the next six years. That should ease the pain for some trust-laden investors. Already the work trusts have closed back their sales. For those investors who have had their money in trusts for several years, they're still way ahead even after the recent drop. As for the large number of seniors who didn't buy into the trust mania at all, they just received a retirement gift from the Tories, one they might remember come election time. ■

## YouTube's grown-up problems

**Legal troubles threaten to turn Google's big coup into a nightmare**

**BY RYAN MAHER** • Anybody who's ever bought a used car only to discover a few extra miles, dents and mechanical hiccups after the fact knows what Google's seniors is all about. So space: someone's pity for Sergey Brin and Larry Page, the two geniuses who head Google. Last month, they shelled out \$1.65 billion for YouTube, and their purchase is already running a little rough.

Last week, Comedy Central, world of entertainment giant Viacom, sent YouTube a demand for money from the site's copyrighted clips of shows like *The Daily Show* with Jon Stewart, *The Colbert Report* and *South Park*, depriving YouTube of some of its most popular content. If it's not enough, some of those clips had been restored and the two companies were working on a deal to provide a limited access to Comedy Central shows, but the legal wrangling may just be starting.

The Comedy Central suit came about a week after authorities in Japan notified the company it was in breach of its national copyright laws, forcing YouTube to shut down 35,000 unauthorized Japanese video clips. In Britain, the English Premier League is taking steps to try to keep unauthorized videos of its matches off the air, a move that could seriously dent YouTube's appeal among millions of soccer fans around the world.

So far, all those disputes have been confined to news letters and veiled threats. One company, however, did step forward to sue YouTube last week—not an unreasonable suggestion, but rather little-known. Ohio manufacturer of tube- and pipe-making gear, Universal Tube & Rollform Equipment Corp. (UTR) for them), which claims that its website ([www.utube.com](http://www.utube.com)) has been plagued by misdirected traffic and is now

have skyrocketed in a crash.

But YouTube's problems may go much deeper than potential court challenges. Last week, Nielsen/NetRatings released its most recent monthly report, showing that traffic to YouTube's site plunged by 19 per cent between August and September—and that was before the company was hit with the latest barrage of demands to pull down copyrighted material. According to Nielsen, about 27.6 million people visited the site in September.

That number will come as quite a shock to many who, in the wake of the Google acquisition, heard that YouTube routinely attracts close to 50 million users a month. Whether it's because of soaring novelty, increased competition from similar sites, or a slow erosion of high-quality clips, it's now clear that YouTube is falling short of its peak

popularity. And a sustained campaign to purge copyrighted material from its servers threatens to make things worse. For a company that is already believed to be losing more than US\$1 million a month (Google refuses to release financial data on YouTube), profitability seems a distant dream. Ironically, analysts say, it may have been the Google takeover that sealed YouTube's fate. It was one thing to tolerate the existence of a glitchy, money-losing start-up, but once it was absorbed into the massive and powerful Google empire, all of YouTube's expenses decided to start paying her bills.

It's not like there weren't warnings. Shortly before Google bought the site, Josh Bennett, an analyst with Research in Motion, said:

Cambridge, Mass., and YouTube could be in deep trouble. He noted the site's 100,000 employees, the company that short to prominence by allowing users to illegally swap movie files, but was ultimately swamped by lawsuits and a plague of upstart competitors. And in September, Mark Cuban, the investment entrepreneur and billionaire investor, told an audience of professional investors that only a "monster" would buy the company, given its original legal liabilities. He said he expects the company to be "read into oblivion."

That hasn't happened yet. But it's looking more and more like Google's misdirected coup might've been YouTube's coup de grâce. ■



**JOHN STEWART'S** hugely popular *Daily Show* was just one of the programs pulled last week.

*On the South shore  
there's a fishing village  
with a spot on the beach  
that cooks up  
fresh fish and lobster.  
It's called Little Ochie.  
But feel free to call it heaven.*



*It's a wee bit out of the beaten track... Which is exactly the point.*

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Ignoring global warming won't make it go away.

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ENVIRONMENT



WHILE MOST Canadians favour much stricter climate change regulations, they refuse to sacrifice their well-oiled, energy-basking lifestyle

# AN APPETITE FOR DESTRUCTION

**We're the world's biggest energy hogs, and we ought to look to the U.S. for solutions**

**COLIN CAMPBELL** • If global warming is bad as most scientists say, the world will be a very different place in 100 years. Major cities, like New York and London, will be underwater thanks to melting polar ice caps. Unending drought will grip large swaths of Africa, a million species will have gone extinct, and dangerous tropical diseases will have spread far and wide. Tens of thousands of people, or more, will quite literally die from the heat, and the casualty will cost the world economy US\$7 trillion, according to former World Bank chief economist Nicholas Stern. Future generations might well look back and ask, where did it all go wrong? Who's to blame? And they might point to one North American country in particular, with its bigger-is-better attitude and its refusal to play along with international efforts to curb greenhouse gas emissions. They might point to the people

who were, at the turn of the century, the biggest energy hogs in the developed world: Canadians.

No developed nation, save for tiny Luxembourg and Iceland, uses more energy per capita than Canada today, and only a few small countries generate more power per capita. In fact, experts predict that by the end of this decade, or sooner, Canada will have surpassed the United States, and trail only Qatar, Kuwait, Bahrain and the U.A.E.—small oil-exporting economies in the Middle East—in per capita emissions. If there is one country that often characterizes the global failure to address climate change, it's Canada. And the failure can't be blamed entirely on rapacious Alberta oil refineries, or the cold weather, or even the great distances between our cities. It's largely the fault of the average car-driving, gas-guzzling, electricity-hungry Canadian energy glutton—who might, in turn, be surprised to find that one place the country ought to be looking to for solutions is the world's other great energy hog, the United States.

Canada has gone a long way in the wrong direction since it signed the Kyoto Protocol

five years ago, vowing to reduce its greenhouse gas emissions to six per cent below 1990 levels by 2012. Today, our emissions are running about 50 per cent above 1990 levels. Kyoto has been dropped from the government's agenda and the latest climate change plan—the "Tosier" plan—does not aim to avoid short-term emissions in favour of a long-term pledge to cut greenhouse gases in half by about 2050. Despite efforts by government officials to put a positive spin on the plan, Canada's failure was made much in the air at this week's UN conference on climate change in Manado, aimed at reducing global greenhouse gases. Even the United States, which emphatically refused to play along with Kyoto, has done more to address its emissions and energy use. "We witnessed the energy map that Paul Martin's government said, 'We're not like the U.S. We're green. We're clean,'" says Pierre Bédard, a policy adviser with the David Suzuki Foundation. "But if you look beneath the rhetoric you'd see that Canada was being outperformed by the U.S."

By most measures, both countries have pitiful environmental records. Rates of emissions and energy use in North America are more than double what they are in western Europe. North Americans rely on coal to generate electricity (though more so in the U.S. than in Canada), are subjected to large cars and SUVs, rely on freight trucks to supply consumer goods, shun rail travel for airplanes, occupy large, inefficient homes and office buildings, fill vast landfills (which also emit greenhouse gases), and decline to try to measure their energy consumption. Per capita, the U.S. produces 24.05 tonnes of CO<sub>2</sub> emis-

PHOTO TOP LEFT: GARY J. ROBERTSON/REUTERS; TOP RIGHT: JEFFREY M. HARRIS/REUTERS; BOTTOM: JEFFREY M. HARRIS/REUTERS

MAGAZINE NOV. 30 '08

11

itors a year, and Canada produces 38, according to the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development. Only Australia, which is exempt to the Kyoto Protocol, does slightly worse among developed nations. The one bright note is that Canada's overall emissions, due to its relatively small population, amount to only about two per cent of the world total (the biggest emitter, the U.S., has more than a 20 per cent share).

When Canada's energy use the United States at the speed at which its emissions have been growing. Between 1990 and 2004, Canada's went up 27 per cent, compared to 16 per cent in the United States. And as a per capita basis, U.S. numbers appear to have even declined slightly, says Sadleir, as Canada, as a fact, may have already passed the U.S. in per capita emissions. Many blame the growth on Alberta's booming oil sands. But they're not the culprits, at least not yet, say environmentalists. Much of the oil sands development has occurred only in the last few years—not even so much to account for growth between 1990 and 2004. "It's not that they are currently a huge fraction of emissions,

it's that they are going to be growing incredibly quickly," says Matthew Bramley, the director of climate change at the Alberta-based Pembina Institute. "What has raised emissions over the last 15 years is the demand for electricity, the transportation sector, and more importantly, the conventional oil and gas sector, where emissions went up by 50 per cent between 1990 and 2004, according to the Pembina Institute. All that's the result of a rising population, a booming economy, and its insatiable demand for energy."

But it's not always the case that a country with a big oil and gas sector is not inevitably large emissions. Norway, the world's third largest exporter of crude oil, has a per capita rate of emissions half that of Canada's. It has implemented a CO<sub>2</sub> tax, relies on hydropower as well, and has pushed technology that pumps emissions into underground aquifers (one of the five concrete proposals in Canada's latest plan). If they can do it, so can we, says Sadleir. "In Norway, the government has said, 'do it'—there the federal government hasn't stepped in that direction yet, but we will have to."

Nor is it the case that Canada's high energy use and emissions are inevitable, and defensible, because the country is so big and so cold. David Richard Boyd, an environmental lawyer and adjunct professor at Simon

Fraser University, calls these "Glasco Canada emissions." In fact, while freight trucks are a fast growing source of emissions, the majority of travel in Canada is in cars they travel (implying that urban sprawl and not distance is a big problem), and peak energy use in Ontario and Quebec, the most populous provinces, occurs not in winter months, but in the summer, says Emily Moonhouse, an environmental campaigner with the Sierra Club of Canada. Scandinavian countries like Sweden and Norway are just as cold as Canada, yet have far better environmental records. Germany, a large, highly industrialized and populated country, is on track to beating Kyoto targets, as is the U.K., which also happens to be a net oil exporter.

It's relatively easy for greenhouse gas emissions to go up in developed countries at all. Between 1990 and 2004, CO<sub>2</sub> emissions rose 47 per cent in the developing world, accord-

### DON'T BLAME THE COLD. PEAK ENERGY USE IN ONTARIO AND QUEBEC COMES IN THE SUMMER. SCANDINAVIANS DO FAR BETTER.



BLAME GAME: Many point to oil-rich Alberta, but others say electricity demands, the transportation sector and the cavernous oil and gas business are at fault.

ing to the Washington-based World Resources Institute, but were much lower in the developed world. The United States and Canada are notable exceptions. In part, that's because they have largely ignored climate change, arguing that capping emissions would seriously curtail economic growth. And the general public seems to be too much to sacrifice the North American way of life. Both the U.S. and Canada are reluctant to charge energy, and use plenty of it. Gas prices in Canada and the U.S. are less than half what they are in much of Europe. Given the high price of fuel there, most Europeans can't afford to drive SUVs, so they don't. Europeans tend to drive smaller, more efficient cars, and live in smaller, more efficient homes.

Still, some of the more aggressive U.S. jurisdictions are taking action. In September, the California legislature and Gov. Arnold Schwarzenegger agreed to a groundbreaking plan to cut greenhouse gas emissions to 1990 levels by 2020, and to 80 per cent below 1990 levels by 2050. California warned those measures could destroy the economy, but polls show widespread public support for the initiative. Enough even for the Republican governor to chart a radically different course than his nominal counterparts. "We do realize, it can be an example for the rest of the world and the rest of the country to use," said Schwarzenegger.

He's been praised for environmentally conscious world leaders like Israeli's Tony Blair and Japan's Prime Minister Junichiro Koizumi. And he appears to have won a nod from the NDP's Jack Layton, whose climate change plan also calls for an 80 per cent emissions reduction below 1990 levels by 2050. Similar laws are being considered in a number of U.S. states, like Oregon, which has long taken their environmental cues even from the national government but from California. Since the 1970s, it's been at the forefront of environmental legislation—laws in California, for example, led to the widespread use of catalytic converters in cars to cut smog-producing emissions. California has pushed for more energy-efficient appliances (even cell-phone chargers), and was the first state to force companies to reduce the emissions levels



## Canadian Environment Awards 2007

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Nominations close December 8, 2006!





**CALIFORNIA DREAMING.** Schwab's report (top) has set in motion a groundbreaking plan to cut greenhouse gas emissions—while in Canada premiers McGuinty and Klein argue in interprovincial skirmishes

when it comes to reducing national greenhouse gas emissions." To which Ralph Klein later responded, "Maybe he's just mad because we are promoting real, clean heating oil, that's it."

The division of powers between provincial and federal governments greatly complicates the making of a comprehensive climate change plan, says Dale Marshall, the author of the Suzuki report. But there is nothing stopping provinces from putting in place aggressive caps and standards like those in California, he says. "The reality is, every single level of government has huge potential for reducing emissions," he says. "The interprovincial issue is a lot more about being able to point the finger somewhere else."

If certain U.S. states can offer Canada the baby-sits example of how to tackle climate change, the big league in the battle against greenhouse gases is in Europe, where most countries are on pace to meet Kyoto targets. The European Union has put in place regulated caps on emissions and combined them with an emissions trading system to reduce economic impacts (known as a "cap and trade" scheme). Europe has also seen the rise of green parties that have helped push the climate change agenda, says Boyd.

The political and public will to legislate climate change measures is likely driven as well by the fact that Europe, and California, have already suffered through severe weather and environmental problems. Scarc, water pollution, heat-wave deaths, high-priced real estate crumbling onto the Pacific Ocean and wildfires—all of it has forced a greater awareness about the results of climate change. In Canada, the most visible impacts so far have been in the Arctic—out of sight and out of mind. "We still suffer from the myth of Canadian environmental superiority," says Boyd, the environmental lawyer. "People think Canada is too big and too beautiful to possibly have any environmental problems." And also, it seems, too big to do anything about it. ■

## U.S. STATES HAVE BEEN MORE AGGRESSIVE, WITH EMISSIONS CAPS. 'OUR PROVINCES LIKE TO POINT THE FINGER SOMEWHERE ELSE.'

work of policies that have led to some improvements, but are unlikely to put a dent in the nationwide growth in emissions, said the report.

The lack of political will was evident last month, when the federal government said it was considering imposing California-like emissions standards on Canadian vehicles. The proposal sparked a hour of interprovincial bickering when Ontario Premier Dalton McGuinty warned the plan would unfairly hurt the province's auto sector while ignoring Alberta's oil and gas industry. "We will not simply stand back in case the federal government should somehow decide that Ontario will suddenly be demanded to come to the table



**THE LOCAL THUGS ARE A BUNCH OF BABOONS**  
Being wifey has taken her out in the neighbourhoods of Cape Town. Troops of baboons, up to 10 strong, are breaking windows, stealing home insurance and confronting white homeowners who try to send them off. The large monkeys have mastered the ability to open doors and, once inside, raid refrigerators, steal property and defecate at will. Humans have responded by trying to poison the baboons and even run them over with cars.

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**FAMILY BUSINESS:** The Brown brothers, like their school, focused on the slavery issue

# THE UNIVERSITY THAT SLAVERY BUILT

**A report traces an Ivy League school's intricate ties to slavery**

**BY BRIAN KITCHNER** • In 1964, the Rhode Island brig Sally, laden with 13,204 gallons of rum, left Providence for Africa on the first leg of the transatlantic trade, sending black slaves to sell in the West Indies. The voyage was a disaster: disease, violence and a heavy rain drenched the wooden hull, killing dozens of the captives. "Slaves Keen on to us" was blighted to lie on them and Dorothea Light and several more wounded badly. A tiny and tiny Rhode Islander "in the name of the Captain" took the ship to the West Indies. Afterward, the captain wrote, the slaves became "so Dependent that some Drowned themselves Some Starved and others Suffered & Dyed." All told, 109 of the human cargo perished at sea.

What makes the voyage of the Sally more than just another episode in the long, tragic story of American slavery is not the death toll—of the 34 sailors African loaded onto slave ships, two million died during the middle passage—or even its unusually well-preserved documentation. For Brown University history professor James Campbell, it's more a matter of the Sally's stark symbolism and its ties to the institutions at the heart of the founding of the American republic—and to the establishment, at that same year, of one of its most prestigious universities.

The owners of the Sally were the four Brown brothers, a prominent Providence family who gave the Ivy League university its name. Their school's first president was Stephen Hopkins, governor of Rhode Island, future signer of the Declaration of Independence,

and brother to Nick, who later became the first commander-in-chief of the U.S. navy. Stephen was also the author of an influential revolutionary-era pamphlet, *Rights of Colonies Enslaved*, which condemned British tax measures for various practices (harm to the slave trade, lack of respect for the colonial economy) and moral opposition to the representation of the colonies as "the miserable condition of slaves, the heaviest curse that human nature is capable of." The Browns thoughtfully forwarded a copy to Nick, busy fighting wars for humans all the American coast.

From a modern perspective, the wonder is that anyone involved didn't choke on his own irony. But the Sally helped make sense of the unfathomable complexity of the slave trade, a complex of regulations for slavery, but to ensure Britain's involvement. "This country is founded on deeply conflicting moral views that crystallized in the 18th century," Campbell says. "A legacy of liberty and a legacy of racism—the opposing ideas that freedom is human."

ty's natural state, except for black people—have determined our history since."

The Brown family and their elite school (founded in 1764) were partly built on slave labor, partly endowed with slavery profits, partly governed by slave owners—both flourished until the crisis of the 1850s. Thus the four brothers never shared another slave voyage after the Sally, but John Brown went on to become a leading slave. Moses Brown, the secretary of the Sally's sailing, headed on his conscience, eventually became the state's leading abolitionist. The two cars and on a long, burning financial battle in private correspondence, in Brown's governing councils, in the legislature and the courts.

Eight days later, the ship sailed. John Brown was the hub of America's slave trade, responsible in some years for more than 90 percent of transatlantic ventures. A 1787 slave law, and a federal law 20 years later, simply drove the slaves underground. The hundreds of cases tried almost always ended in acquittal, like the case Moses launched against John in 1795. When courts ordered the British and auctioning of illegal slave ships, the owners could get them back for as little as \$10. Slaves, British customs officers, assaulted a U.S. district attorney, and died the war.

off a citizen who brought a suit against a British trader: slaves in America's decent men violent against crime. In all, half the Africans carried into slavery by Rhode Island vessels were transported legally.

In 1790, 1790 customs officers, British customs officers, assaulted a U.S. district attorney, and died the war.



**ESKER HOPKINS, a slave!**

the key to the slave owners who had been in rebellion for their own liberty: black racial inferiority. Of all the "apologies" for slavery, Talbot's declared, the worst was "that one who was formed with a dark complexion, though a Newton or a Washington, is inferior to him, who possesses a complexion more light." That his countrymen could seriously entertain that idea was a marvel. "For human governments to investigate" it may have taken more than 200 years, but our generation now has it.



**RUSSIA: THE KGB LIKED PREDICTABLE RESULTS**  
A Moscow daily newspaper has revealed that during the Cold War, the KGB used clairvoyants to psychically spy on enemies of the Soviet Union. The head of a secret lab, Alexander Sporkin, said the psychics in his employ were asked to report on U.S. officials' health. After the Soviet Union's dissolution, the psychics continued to find state work. One, Ivan Fomin, was a special adviser to Boris Yeltsin, who used him to investigate aircraft accidents.



## THE BACK PAGES

food—shaken  
and stirred.

### The banality of pol-speak

Cult favourites  
deserve to die

Breakup prove  
a poor service

### Lessons in other training

Dear Tom  
and Katie...

**film** Will, at least Eric Foster Smith adds, "The real Rob Rabin didn't consider his handling being called 'Mr. Hallelujah.' He put a lot of thought into the metaphor."

**W**HEN THE *Black Academy* (for African-American film) and unveiled as the carefully selected to him as "a joy of my life." But deep down he does have a comfortable long been wary the supportive plus-one. "It was hard for me to inhabit the skin of their man," he said. "Not just that night, but pretty much every day." Considering Berry challenges the subsequent dissolution of their marriage, to his son addition, it can simply become. Berke to play up the motherhood role rather than the gay one. What's certain, though, is that their relationship *out of control* after Berry won the Academy Award and became home to a reference.

Others have felt Berni's pain. Just as the actor's admirers (known as the Helen Hunt [Hank Azaria], Mr. John Roberts [Benjamin Bratt], Mr. Hilary Swank [Chad Lowe], and, most recently, Mr. Reese Witherspoon [Ryan Reynolds]). In fact, of those who won Best Actress Oscars in the past 10 years, only Frances McDormand and Charlize Theron remain with the men they shared in their respective marriages. —*Jeff Labrecque and Sherry*

Therand, respectively (Nicola Radman was still twirling from the recent breakup of her marriage when she won in 2003). You could call it the other Oscar curse – the first Oscar curse being that after attaining the top film honour, both actors and actresses live

These days, all eyes are on the latest Oscar winner, Reese Witherspoon, and her husband, Ryan Phillippe. The question is: Is their split and her rumored infidelity related to career/Oscar envy? Phillippe has had a good

out of luck, he co-starred in last year's Best Picture winner, *Crash*, and in this year's based-on-a-*Flowers of Our Fathers*. But when it comes down to it, *Wish Upon a Star* is a schmaltzy swordswinger, and he's the guy who looked good shirtless in *Twister* '94. She makes \$19 million a picture and he makes it a million. **D**

**O**nce the couple was in a relatively secure place in the past, Philippe's been confident enough to be about. When they presented an award together at the 1993 Oscars, he handed his wife the envelope, saying, "You do it, you make more

Phillippe was embarrassed when Wil-

**G**ary Barlow's band, The Verve, won the GoldenGlobe this year for *Urban Hymns*.

**Behind every successful actress is a man...who was just leaving. What's with Hollywood guys whose better halves are really better?**

BY SHANDA DEZIEL

# OSCAR AND THE GROUCH

pumping up and down, yelling, pumpkinlike for as the air and pushing her onto the stage. Later that night, asked how the couple would celebrate, Witherspoon replied, "With her and honey loving each other. Our life is perfect—it really can't get better." While Phillips eventually apologized for his exuberance, saying he was "disoriented," Witherspoon has got money sorry for making anyone gag. In any case, perceptive Hollywood watchers may have guessed back then that the end was nigh.

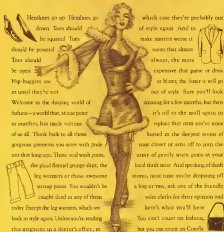
Now, if we think and gossip columns are to be believed, the breakdown of the Witherspoon marriage, which reportedly started off with *NR Sex Loss* on TV, Australian Albert Camer, a home local, is just the first of a series of events that could be the end of the world. As for the Witherspoon, self-proclaimed celebrity infidelity expert and author of *My Cheating on You*—a 2001 E! Entertainment Channel special, she points out, infidelity usually gets the media's attention and draws the former celebrity spouse back into the public eye. Or, says Bloomer, "a lot of women go on for what is called revenge relationships." In this particular case, she says, "I understand that she's very exciting, so it just may have been too much for her to deal with."

The Oscar came in a recent trend: It just took as far as 1944, when Jennifer Jones, best actress for *The Song of Bernadette*, fled for divorce from Robert Walker the day after the awards jury heard her sing "Rhapsody" within a year of her 1941 win for *Alone*. Marlee Matlin and William Hurt's relationship ended months after her win for *Children of a Lesser God*, and the six-year marriage of Enya Thompson and Kenneth Branagh suffered the same fate after her 1993 win for *Howard's End*. And the pattern has undeniably unfolded in recent years: It's now so common that actors/conversion couples father additional kids after the show that the wife and her friends used to be on how long a marriage would last after the wife had won an Oscar and the husband became gay. "Regardless of how big the man's box office was," she said, "once the woman received the

stems, it seemed that the days of the marriage were numbered. For some now, at least, a worst-case scenario: Oscar canceled his elaborate excursions, and fell down for the relationship."

The converse, of course, isn't transformative. Best Actor winners. Many have been single when they've won (Philip Seymour Hoffman, Jamie Foxx, Adrien Brody, Russell Crowe).

## YOU CAN'T COUNT ON FASHION.



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**BROKEN UP** by Oscar statuette winner Hilary Swank, Julia Roberts, and their exes

And as for the ones who win without partners: six actresses (Glenn Pladen/Wis Wilson, Susan Peretz/Robin Wright Pein, Deirdre Washington/Paulina Porras), their marriages have yet to even falter. So what's behind the cases? Are the stars really distressed by successful women, as Celine Fisher suggests? Or do the women just decide to make up?

In some cases the spotlight itself is the problem. In the lead-up to the 2001 Academy Awards, Julia Roberts, who now co-anchors the *60 Minutes* newscast, told David Letterman, "I don't have to win the Oscar. I have my own little gold mine at home." When she stumbled toward the stage to accept the award for *Erin Brockovich*, it was that same confidence that helped her get a grip. Three months later, she was again, lost, it seemed, was the epitome of a spotlight-walker. He wrote it took a simple life to distract her attention and the Julia Roberts episode is the reason for the split. "It's like a fly that won't leave you alone," he said. "It's constant and ever present and it disrupts any chance of peace. When you live your life at this level of fame, a gets beyond your control. By the time you realize it, you're stuck."

Then there's what happened to Chad Lowe and Hilary Swank. After Swank won her second Oscar in 2003. When the two married in 1997, they were an even match: she was a minor player on *Jerry Maguire* and he was an *Elvis* winner who was knocking it out on *Heavenly Creatures*. Come 2003, Lowe was starring in a schlocky guide-for-TV John Denver biopic, and Swank, star of *Don Don't Cry*, was accepting the statuette for Best Actress in the Academy Awards—where she forgot to thank her husband. Five years later, Lowe was still without any high-profile acting gigs, and Swank swept another awards season with *Millions*. *Dollar Daily*. Worse, she seemed to make an art out of humiliating Lowe. At the Golden Globes she thanked all siblings of romance, then joked, "Let's see, is there anyone else?" At the Oscars, she dug the knife in deeper: "I am going to start by thanking my husband because I'd like to thank I learned from past mistakes." It didn't stop there. She co-executive-produced a game show that featured, Cele-



popular as Hollywood and the people who are the best at predicting the future," she says. "Brent didn't win because she did a great job in *Walk the Line*," says Lee. "She was because people love her. She's done a great job at selling herself as Susan Williams, America's sweetheart, bright light inside, Sweet Home Alabama." The perfect marriage is part of the risk. It was an arrangement, says Lee. Philadelphia got to have fun and Williams got all those great family photos for the campaign for her Oscar.

If that's the case, then maybe the real case isn't so much that actors get nervous and leave when their wives win Oscars, but that Hollywood actresses are forced to unhealthily manipulate their personal lives in order to be more successful in their professional lives. The demands clearly aren't the same for men. Single, married, divorced, unmarried, does it? Who cares. Anything goes for a Best Actor winner.

Whenever the case may be, the high divorce rate among first actresses exists. And come Feb. 25, at the 76th Academy Awards, everyone will be watching the next winner—and her date. Just how profane does the thank line? How generous does he smile and cheer? How happy will they be? But who actually needs the answers to those questions? After all, these people are actors. ■

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007 UNPLUGGED: Hotter bad boy than Playboy, Craig tears through Casino Royale with a reckless ferocity reminiscent of Steve McQueen

## A brutal Bond, shaken and stirred

Daniel Craig resuscitates Hollywood's oldest franchise with a violent jolt of realism

BY BRIAN O. JOHNSON

When Daniel Craig was first cast as James Bond, there was a furious backlash from those who thought he looked wrong for the part. The monkey "James [Bond]" quickly morphed into "James [Bond]," and the British press took to calling him Mr. Potato Head. The 38-year-old British actor now admits he found the analogy "a little bit disconcerting." After his Bond debut, *Casino Royale*, was released to the media, critics took him to task, still accused of not being as sexy as James Bond in a Manhattan hotel, a reporter (not *Esquire*) asked, "So where did this Mr. Potato Head stuff come from?" And Craig lost his patience: "Look, for f---'s sake! I don't know where these things come from. It's lazy journalism. OK, *Ames* isn't on a list. And the next thing you know, it's around the world."

Craig is not another pretty-boy Bond. He's got the face of a brawler, with a real mouth, a nose that looks like it could take a punch, and blue eyes that burn with lethal intensity. And in *Casino Royale*, he delivers an explosive performance that should silence the skeptics. Sean Connery may have won the character. But Craig is the finest actor who's ever tackled the role—and the toughest. Most bad boys play boy, but Craig tears through the movie with a reckless ferocity reminiscent of Steve McQueen. This is the most high-strung Bond we've seen, mentally and physically. He's buffed, and extremely busy, a foot soldier in the war on terror. You can't imagine him sitting still for a magazine.

After the debauched dimensions of Roger Moore and Pierce Brosnan, who both seemed rather too pleased with themselves, Craig brings an edge of masculine anxiety back to

the character. Even Connery's 007 seems like a glacial, fussy layabout compared to Craig's hardboiled bruiser. He may be blond, but no Bond has ever been drier.

*Casino Royale*, the 21st installment in the franchise, is the best since the Connery classic *From Russia with Love* (1963). It's also the most visceral, violent and emotionally brutal Bond picture ever made. Based on the first Bond novel, which Ian Fleming wrote in 1953, it strips the character back to his roots, while rendering him as a post-9/11 spy in a blood-soaked world. A gritty *MacGyver*-style pulp tale shows how he turns his dislike of himself with his first wife into the main plot involves a villain named Le Chiffre (Mads Mikkelsen), an investment banker to the world's terrorists. And as they square off in a high-stakes poker game, 007 falls for a shrewd Treasury official named Vesper Lynd (Eva Green)—who's not your typical Bond girl.

While the basic formula remains intact, from the pop-art titles to the obsessive relationship with M (Judi Dench), *Casino* discards a lot of familiar tropes. The villain is a businessman, not a manic plotting world domination from some underground fortress. The most spectacular action scenes are first races, and gadgets are kept to a minimum (even if, in this Sony-backed picture, 007's Sony Ericsson cellphone gets more close-ups

than Craig). And when the villain tortures Bond, he doesn't use a laser beam at his fingertips, as in *Goldfinger*; he ties him naked to a chair and drops them with a thick rope.

This is 007 unplugged. It's also the first Bond movie to sign that plays to drama, not camp comedy. The script, which was heavily rewritten by Canadian Paul Haggis (Craze), is relatively free of punning one-liners. It features a doomed romance that dares to be authentic. And as Bond becomes a killing machine, he's torn apart not just by the villain, but by the blood on his hands. "Too do when I do for too long," he says, "and there won't be any more soul to salvage."

Director Martin Campbell, who last helmed Pierce Brosnan's 007 debut with GoldenEye, says, "we wanted to make Bond blood, to make him tougher and more vulnerable. I wanted to show him repulsed when the violence becomes ugly." He adds that he was influenced by the lean, muscular style of *The Bourne Identity* and its sequel. "The *Bourne* films have set the bar." The humor hasn't been banished. But it pops up as wry banter, not glib conceit. Bond snarls his Aston Martin. As for alcohol, we see him rumbling him self with whiskey before he finally gets around to ordering the famous vodka martini.

"Shaken or stirred?" the bartender asks.

"I don't give a damn," snaps Bond, as if the bartender's not to be bothered. Or break the glass and use it to slit the throat of the next idiot who calls him Mr. Potato Head. ■

### WE'RE STALKING... DAVID HASSELHOFF

The former *Baywatch* Lodenho has married his daughter's suitor's dad if they're not his, he'll announce their parents. "My oldest daughter is dating an older guy. I said, 'If you hurt my daughter, I will take you outside and I will cut your thing off. I have no problems spending the rest of my life in prison.'" Hasselhoff is so protective that his daughter reportedly became a furrier earlier this year—he called panemakers when she suffered a cat scratch.



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New QC3 headphones (right)

QC2 headphones (left)  
New QC3 headphones (right)

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THE SHOW *Arrested Development* was yanked, as was *South* (center). *Friday Night Lights* (left) and *Howe* (right) are still on.

## Why cult favourites deserve to go

Critics rage about networks that don't give good shows a chance. They're wrong.

BY JACQUE L. KOSOVE • *Friday Night Lights*

The new show about high school football in a small town, a hit with critics and with fans of quality TV, but it's not a hit according to the ratings. NBC's executive vice president Kevin Kelly told the *Philadelphia Inquirer* that it's too early to despair over the show's fate, and implied that he was going to keep it on for a while because he'd been getting so many emails about what a great show it was. "When I see that kind of anecdotal evidence," he said, "even for a show that's not pulling big ratings, there is something going on." But can a good show with low ratings really recover and become a hit? We'd all like to think so, but it may not be true.

The *Hollywood Reporter* recently talked about shows that are "on the brink of cancellation before exploding into megahits," and it's a standard for critics and observers to say that a show can bounce back after looking like a failure. But it's hard to think of a current hit that wasn't on the air and was popular from the beginning. *Howe*, which is cited in the *Hollywood Reporter* article as one of these on-the-brink-of-cancellation shows, actually got fairly good ratings even before it got to follow *American Idol*. Other shows, like *Lost* and *Desperate Housewives*, were hit right away. The evidence almost seems to suggest that networks should just give up on a show that doesn't succeed right away.

In talking about shows that look more like *Arrested Development*, many commentators bring up *Seinfeld*, which became a blockbuster after several seasons in semi-oblivion. But while it took *Seinfeld* several years to become a juggernaut, it was never anything resembling a flop. Warren Littlefield, the NBC executive who programmed the show, realized in a

documentary that the initial ratings "weren't great, but they weren't bad," even though the first episodes aired during the summer when viewership was traditionally low. Its ratings were always good enough to fit the book criterion for renewing a show: it was doing better than most shows would in its time slot.

Even *Friday Night Lights*, for all its accolades, fits the *Seinfeld* pattern of a show whose ratings aren't as bad as they look. NBC has pointed to the fact that it sometimes does better than its hyped, expensive *So Random* do on the *Saturday Night*. The problem with many cult shows, by contrast, is that they don't outperform shows that the network might put in their place. CBS was crucified for yanking the acclaimed *op-ed* series *South* (center) after only three episodes. But CBS has gotten some hat-batter coverage by filling the time slot with repeats of another drama, *The Unit*. As an ironic comment, CBS's abandonment of *South* after a few years is a case, but as a business decision, it makes sense—particularly since it comes late to turn a popular show than to produce new episodes of the less-than-blogged *South*.

In recent years, there have been a number of shows that were generally expected to find audiences and were hit. The most obvious case was the sitcom *Arrested Development*, which got some of the most glowing reviews

ever written, an *Esquire* award, a financially loyal fan base—and terrible ratings. The Fox network renewed it twice, always claiming that it was just about to find an audience. It never did, and in its third and final season, an in-joke had the main character, Michael (Jeffrey Tambor), all but admitting that it was about to end. "The fact is, we've been given plenty of chances. Maybe we're not worth saving. Maybe we're just not that likable."

Of course, some shows have come back from the ratings grave. The most famous example is *Cheers*, which was one of TV's lowest rated shows in its first year, but eventually won as the No. 1 show in the U.S. But that case was when there were only two networks and a smaller range of programs to choose from. Today, with more channels available, viewers may give a show only one chance. And that means a more typical example of a low-rated show today would be the surprise detective show *Worship Men*, which has gone through three cancellations and one and a half renewals and still isn't considered an audience buster in its third run.

Critics will continue to complain that networks are too quick to pull promising shows off the air—and they should, the job of critics is to call attention to quality television work. But the network executives, who have to look at things from a business perspective, may be noticing some things and not others, which may give a low-rated show a chance to find an audience; it usually doesn't. ■



JOHN KERRY: ACCORDING TO TV

"John Kerry has apologized for screening up a joke about President Bush that offended our troops. How do you screen up a Bush joke? That's like screening up a Clinton sex joke!"—Jury Lenore  
"It's important to note that nobody hates the troops more than decorated war hero John Kerry. It's all very funny that we have died soldiers like George Bush and Dick Cheney to point that out to us!"—Jimmy Kimmel

## Breaking up used to be hard to do

**BY WATINA IZENBERG** • At his most, he brings a zeal to a job, as he seems, it's crazy to say. That's why some people swallow, and when a relationship is well past its expiration date. Finding the right moment, surfacing from the face of counter arguments that are just one of the difficulties. Now, in Germany, just as he has a professional to get the job done, he's been hired by a 10-year-old company, one of the world's largest, started by his brother, David "Aggressive Agency" last July, he has terminated all relationships, the biggest of which was four years old. He often "he's been there" and "there are those" for \$10, for \$70, he will take the person in person. The approach is up to the client, he can go from "sell to himself." An awareness of passion helps him handle boredom in other German towns, and the hope to expand to Sweden, India, Austria and Lower Bavaria.

Clothes by Row, Florida-based abrahamson.com, offers a service available in the U.S. and Canada, the best you deliver a personal message to your soon-to-be without having to specify in person or by e-mail. Or, you can, if you simply call the number on the left, record a message (which you can edit to your heart's content) and choose when you want it delivered.

The service is the brainchild of a couple, Alan and Jill Loughran, looking to promote their web-headset messaging business. Jill uses the service appealing primarily to Internet daters: "So many of my friends have been offended by people they really liked who didn't call them after a date, and they wanted to know why," she says. "Some people just emotionally need closure." Denise Gaspario agrees. She's been dating online for about four years, and says "I'd rather have anything than no thing." A friend of Jill's

she's used the service to break up. "I left a nice little message: 'Thanks for the rolls, but I just didn't feel we were a good match,'" she says. "I thought it was more in my voice rather than an impersonal card." But there are lots of "I'll be dating someone for a while I would never do it that way," she says.

Some people go to greater extremes in Japan, where a mountain is placed on pedestals; there are couple-hating companies known as *ishikawasyo*; it's unearthing past dirt or hating the partner into snafus; *ishikawasyo* help people justify a split without confrontation. Their methods can be shady, save at marriage; do be linked with organized crime or to use threats to scare partner away. (The phenomenon was captured in a TV series called *Private Private Investigation*.)

Ed Tarr, a historian of technology at Princeton University, says a number of trends have helped create a market for such services: the shift to communication from phone to e-mail to instant messaging; a rise in the acceptability of outsourcing; and the "rematerialization" of technology in the voice mail. But he says the business of helping others express themselves isn't new. Prior to widespread literacy, professional letter-writers were employed on behalf of others for centuries. [Tarry continues, but will die. And great, the cards remain a malleable way to create

our feelings. A 2001 feature in the Washington Post described a card/booklet put out by Hallmark in 1976 entitled "Please don't promise me forever." One distressed recipient, a young woman, called Hallmark to inquire what it meant. The author told her as gently as possible that she and her boyfriend "probably weren't close to last as a couple."

Denials and in charts provide sensible reasons for their decision. "One of our last clients was a 16-year-old girl who wanted the separation because she was [unhappy] by him," he told Maclean's. "I never will bring such ridiculous reasons to another person." His remarks ring true as he merely the misreading. "Sometimes I'll throw this in a book—'Kiss the girl but find memories of that time you were on holiday together,'" he once told one person. He says the average breakup lasts 10 minutes, and that he's never seen an. Most of his clients are young women in their 20s.

308 They are rarely close and rarely by the man's side. One was as angry about his boyfriend's philandering as she thought she might strike him physically, another was sure her partner would persuade her to say,

Drucker sees his service as unique to modern times: "Younger people can't face up to making difficult affirm themselves," he says. "Many new relationships in the same way as an easy Coke can—when it's finished you want to throw it away." Asked whether he'd ease the service to end a relationship, he doesn't mince words: "No!" M

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[illegible]





**The kids are five years old and still in diapers. It gets worse: only 61 per cent graduate.**

Although parenting style appears to have no effect on whether a child travels early or late, by the time an expert is consulted, there's usually a full-blown power struggle between parents and child. Many kids are able to avoid accidents at school, but not at home, which is "confusing for parents," as Schoenwald puts it. "But common, perhaps because peeing is generally a once-a-day event." Doctors and nurses at Children's Hospital address the power struggle, too, advising parents to encourage progress, ignore fail-

Hal Gibson picked up an award from the Latino Business Association in Beverly Hills, Calif., last week for his film, *Aztecnapole*, about the decline of Mexican Mayan civilization. Grateful for an accolade after so much criticism following his anti-Semitic tirade, Gibson told the audience his only trouble filming in Mexico was "traveling around on my hands and knees some days." Not from laziness, he says, but from what he called "hansen rot."



\*Includes 1 000 g of corn. Grains may show feeding damage and spoilage due to rats. To exclude wet areas, a plastic tarp is placed over the water source every day as required. The 1 000 g of corn are available with feeders located at 10 m intervals along the perimeter fence. A quantity 100 g of corn is placed in a container 10 cm deep by 10 cm wide by 10 cm high for each feeder. The containers are placed in the middle section of the enclosure. All other bins, up to 10 m apart, contain 100 g of corn. The containers are placed in the middle section of the enclosure. All other bins, up to 10 m apart, contain 100 g of corn. The containers are placed in the middle section of the enclosure. All other bins, up to 10 m apart, contain 100 g of corn.



# TomKat: I now pronounce you nutjob and wife



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Dear Tom and Katie:  
Can I call you TomKat? Nah.  
Okay.

Tomorrow you're announcing your wedding plans. Your wedding this month in Italy will be one of the most eagerly anticipated events of the season. And since, well, the November, anyway. Helicopters have been sent. Telephone lines are being cleared. Even as we speak, paparazzi are sealing themselves inside soundproof rooms in a determined effort to gain entry to your nuptials.

Now, sure, you could be old school about it and try to ignore the horde of tabloid photographers camped outside in vehicles such as beat-up SUVs and riding Sean Penn to booting. In fact, screw you. But I offer you a different way that doesn't kill so many cows. I offer the way of the future.

The solution to your paparazzi problem doesn't rest in physical containment, no matter how long John Deere lawns are kept for the occasion. The solution rests in rendering their photographic usefulness worthless by broadcasting your wedding live to the world... on pay-per-view of course!

Imagine what you're thinking: why hasn't this pay-per-view thing already happened? I didn't know! It seems so obvious. In an age in which even racks of tabloid magazines whines would gladly strip down and cross a word of Rob Marlow's expatriation for mere seconds in which to sensationally display their cleavage and titillate on *Entertainment Tonight*, it is simply shocking that we—technology advanced people of *Entertainment Weekly*—have yet to seriously regard in real time the second, life-altering moment together of Billy Bob Thomson and some lady.

But you could be the one to change that! It'll be just like when people woke up to watch Lady Di get married, but with more paparazzi. Picture it: The broadcast begins with a sweeping shot of the ceremony grounds

swarming black of ice carved into sections from Tom's top-growing superstar movies (plus a small tableside ice sculpture of Katie gracing him up by Damsel), elegant shrubbery arranged into larger-than-life images of Tom accepting countless industry awards (plus a tiny bouquet tree shaped like Katie getting him up by Percy), decadent silver-plated hors d'oeuvres being brought forth by the protocol, white-painted service staff (including the guys who played Dawson and Percy).

Then the audience sits lower margins (don't worry—nothing above Lenny's class club

crosses Rob Segar). The home viewing experience will be enhanced by our TomKat web site, through which we'll offer live streaming on which drunken celebrity guests will throw the first punch—and where possibly it will land on John Travolta. Meanwhile, we'll be keeping a running dollar-value tally of the wedding gift pouring out the champagne, pricing the big spenders, counting the number of parties—it's our one nod to Hollywood tradition.

A final note to you, Tom. Later, there's a whole generation that's growing up thinking of you as a couch-potting shade job



## Pay-per-view nuptials could let viewers wager on which drunken celeb throws the first punch

worship) and maybe an encore or something. Decades if you insist. Notice: Just like in being a wedding, understanding is a good way to build anticipation and bloodlust. But the best way to do it, believes the *Screenwriters of Strategic Systems* will pay good money to earn personal public exposure and get limited on your broadcast. Some even think of it as an addition—which explains why Via David's marriage vows will sound familiar to anyone who's seen the classic of *Alien's Predator*.

And then the big payoff: the main event! The bride on George Armistead. The groom is a vaguely determined musical guest. Our camera men are there, beaming the ceremony all around the world in *Katie* video down the side just all the *ABC* highlights, many of whom are reaching just previous compliments as "Don't do it!" and "You're for him!" And finally that special moment where Tom and Katie stand together, and Tom responds, "I do"—and then Tom responds for Katie, "She does." Cue the tears of joy or possibly the other kind—the sad ones. What now, it's TV magic!

Finally to the reception, which we'll cover down live dance right through to last rites for some unfortunate bodacious stripper who

scientist. But I know the truth. I know you're a couch jumping shade job. I know you're very awesome in *Top Gun's* *Star Trek's* *Star Wars* people. But I'm Tom Cruise—by which I mean you. I want to do a lot of guarantees, and if you have to look like *Brooklyn*, at least make sure you're out of the shot. Deal?

In conclusion, Tom and Katie, I ask you what better way can there be to preserve a special private moment between a man and a woman than with a live global broadcast to which you retain the exclusive DVD rights and 65.5 percent of the smaller time proceeds from *Screenwriting*? In fact, I'm so confident you'll love the idea that we already started production on the obligatory "Wedding Tom and Katie get married and I get the first look! Take it—until the Italian can click get, who gets her from *Colin Farrell* appear.

Your pal in profit,  
Scott

P.S. If you're not interested this time, keep it in mind for your next wedding! ☺

ON THE WEB For Scott Feschke's take on the news of the day, visit his weblog at [www.mediablog.ca/youlook](http://www.mediablog.ca/youlook)

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